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ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR

THE YEAR 1899.

VOLUME II.

CALHOUN CORRESPONDENCE.

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PART II.

LETTERS TO JOHN C. CALHOUN.

From Virgil Maxcy.[1] C. C.

Baltimore March 2nd 1827.

My dear Sir, . . . As I was sure you would take for granted, that none of your friends would more sincerely rejoice at the triumphant issue of the investigation,[2] I did not think it necessary to trouble you with a formal letter of congratulation. A number of your friends here, who were of opinion that you had erred in taking the notice of the affair, which you did by an appeal to the house, are now, when they reflect upon what might have been the effect, if you had [not] taken the step you did, some years hence should you be before the nation as a Candidate and when Mix and his infamy would be forgotten, if a charge should be made of not having met allegations of official misconduct, are now convinced that your course was right.[3] The whole affair has undoubtedly had a favorable effect as respects yourself.

I have not yet seen the testimony of the different witnesses and should be glad if you have a spare copy if you would send me one. I understand however, that a contemptible effort is made by General Brown and Jessop to rob you of the credit of the reforms which you effected in the War Department, and to assume it themselves—as if indeed it would be any discredit to you to collect information from experienced military men and make use of it in your recommendations to congress! I understand however, that these gentlemen did neither of them originally make any suggestions respecting the great means by which you arrived at such perfect organization as you effected, I mean the central Staff until after you had made those recommendations—and that in point of fact VandeVenter,[4] who has been made a victim of

[1] Virgil Maxcy was the son of Jonathan Maxcy, president successively of Rhode Island College, Union College, and South Carolina College. He was a prominent politician and lawyer in Maryland. He edited the Laws of Maryland, 1811, was Solicitor of the Treasury under Jackson, and chargé des affaires at Brussels under Van Buren. On February 28, 1844, he was killed (with Secretaries Upshur and Gilmer and others) by the explosion on board the *Princeton*.

[2] Of the Mix contracts. See Calhoun's letter of December 24, 1826, *et seqq.*, in Part I, *supra*.

[3] See Niles Register, Vol. XXX.

[4] Major Christopher Van Deventer, chief clerk of the War Department under Calhoun.

the malice of your enemies for the sole purpose of making the impression, that you had been negligent of your duty in not dismissing him from office, was the first who laid before you a project of the Central Staff. I feel a strong sympathy for VandeVenter, who, tho' strong in conscious integrity, must nevertheless, feel a deep mortification at the impression that his abrupt dismissal from office is calculated to make on the public mind—and I take the liberty of suggesting for your consideration, whether you could not with propriety punish the vanity and assumption of Gen[l]. Brown and Jessop by addressing a letter to Vandeventer, or if you should think it better, to me, in which you should state the fact of his having laid that project before you and that you had availed yourself of Vandeventer's suggestions in your recommendations to Congress, before Brown and Jessop had arrived at Washington, if this be according to fact, and by this expedient, while you render yourself a service, render a most material one to him, cruelly thrown as he is after 20 years faithful public service upon the wide world to seek a new occupation for the support of a family already becoming numerous and expensive. A statement of his usefulness in this respect, as well as in his general services as chief clerk, published in the form of an extract of a letter in this city, where he has a very extensive circle of connexions by his wife's family of the highest respectability, would be most soothing to his lacerated feelings, and at the same time most useful to him in this city, where it is most likely he will form a connexion in mercantile business with a brother of his wife and establish himself for the future at the same time, it would afford a complete justification to you for retaining him in office. It would, without giving them any just reason to complain, properly punish and mortify the vanity and selfishness of Brown and Jessop.

In my last I wrote you, that we were about to have a Jackson Meeting in Balt°. and that it was fixed for Saturday last. The inclemency of the weather however prevented its taking place that evening and it was postponed till last night, when a very full and respectable meeting convened and adopted the pre-amble and Resolutions, which you have seen in the papers. Mr. M° Kim, who was the Chairman of the Jackson Committee

in this city at the late Presidential contest told me this morning, he had never during the whole of the canvass known so large a meeting in any public hall as the one last night—and expressed in emphatic terms his opinion that Jackson is stronger here now than he was at the last election: that he is in the rest of the state I daily receive evidence. I have little doubt that we shall assemble next May, when we propose to have the Jackson Convention, as respectable and weighty a set of names as the state can afford—or has ever been witnessed in Maryland. The truth is, that in this state a great Majority of the men of a high order of character and intellect, who are capable of understanding great principles and are above patronage, are for Jackson and take with them a Majority of the lower class of people, who are below patronage, while the class of middling men, who are incapable of rising to the comprehension of great principles and perhaps are looking for favours to the government, are for Adams, who is in possession of the patronage and power. Indeed my confidence strengthens daily that we shall soon put an end to the impression that has been so industriously circulated by the administration men and presses, that Maryland has gone over to the Administration. I am told that you have at Washington cheering news from all quarters. Please let me hear of you particulars—as it may be useful for me to be in possession of them. . . .

I am faithfully yrs, V. MAXCY.

From John S. Barbour.[1] C. C.

Catalpa April 17th 1827.

MY DEAR SIR, The election here has just been terminated. I have the largest majority ever given by the county.

The assemblage of the people afforded an opportunity of testing the strength of parties in relation to men and measures. Our Cause is identified with the popular sovereignty and is triumphant;—and nothing is more grateful to my feelings than the manifest and evident attachment of our people to you.

[1] John S. Barbour (1790-1855), member of Congress from Virginia from 1825 to 1833.

You may have seen the proceedings at our "Jackson Meeting", and the strong resolution in reference to yourself. I thought it most prudent and judicious not to appear actively in the matter. Such meetings are useful only as they embody and disclose popular sentiment, and I was unwilling that it should have the faintest appearance of deriving impulse from me, as it might in that case be attributed to the partiality of personal friendship or the effect of party feelings brought from the Metropolis. I wished it to be as in fact it was, the unbiassed expression of the public will.

With Resp^t^ful Compliments to M^rs^. Calhoun I beg you accept the assurance of my great Regard and Respect

J. S. BARBOUR.

[P. S] M^r^. P. P. Barbour is fervently with us and will go all lengths. The Sect^y^ of war[1] and one of his clerks are active in the election Canvass of Orange, for his Son and ag^t^—his Brother. J. S. B.

From Virgil Maxcy. C. C.

Washington, April 6, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR, . . . I met with Green (Duff) yesterday and found him evidently in an ill humour with the State of things here. He forbodes much mischief from the furious passions of his revengeful wife operating on Eaton. Major Lewis, who lives in the Presidents house is supposed to have the unlimited confidence of the President, reads over letters of recommendation &c for him—and is a tool of Eaton's—, who is a tool of his wife. Is it come to this that all our glowing anticipations for our country from the integrity, sagacity and firmness of Genl. J must be extinguished and we must submit to the melancholy conviction, that the U. S. are governed by the Pres^t^. The Pres^t^. by the Secr^y^. of War and the latter by his W—. . . .

I remain faithfully yrs, V. MAXCY.

[1] James Barbour, secretary of war, was brother to Philip P. Barbour; the latter was a congressman and (subsequently) an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court.

From Virgil Maxcy. C. C.

Tulip Hill, near Annapolis, April 9, 1829.

My dear Sir, I wrote you a few days since from Washington, respecting the clouds that were gathering over my prospects. The Report has got out and been carried to Baltimore, that I have been proposed for the office of Treasurer. It is natural to expect that whatever latent unfriendly feeling may from any cause be felt towards me, should now manifest itself. That it has done it in some way or other I have very little doubt from an inquiry of Mr. Ingham,[1] whether Gen. Smith[2] was friendly to me and a remark, that Maryland was split into Adverse interests, and an intimation, that letters from a few of the prominent men of the Jackson party in different parts of the state, in addition to those already sent to Genl. Jackson, might be useful.

You may recollect that in the old contest, when Crawford, Gen. Smith's favorite, was in the field, I had occasion to answer some pieces written by Gen. Smith and published in the American at Baltimore, attributing to Crawford the merit of a number of measures, which you originated—such as Specific Appropriations &c. Gen. Smith probably found out that I was the author. I have never had any respect for him, and of course have not paid him the court he might have expected. I have no doubt therefore he is unfriendly—as indeed is Mr. Lloyd,[3] whom I met in the same way in the Annapolis papers. Geo. Winchester is unfriendly, more from Jealousy than any other cause. In 1812, he was one of the violent men, who after the mob were stimulated by most offensive pieces by Hanson in his paper, joined him in the Charles Street affair[4] and became exceedingly odious in Baltimore. In 1824 to get rid of his unpopularity, he *brought himself* forward as the Jackson Electoral Candidate, and by aid of the enthusiasm of the people in favor of the old General he was elected, but did not so far get rid of his unpopularity as to render it safe to take him as the electoral Candidate in

[1] The Secretary of the Treasury.

[2] Gen. Samuel Smith, of Baltimore, Senator 1803-1815, 1822-1833, M. C. 1793-1803, 1816-1822.

[3] Presumably Edward Lloyd, president of the Maryland senate.

[4] When the mob attacked the office of the Federal Republican, edited by A. C. Hanson, and killed and wounded several of his Federalist friends.

1828, when the contest was expected to be close and by a good deal of delicate and excellent management on the part of Taney,[1] he was induced to stand aside and let Col. Howard[2] be the Candidate and in the late contest 50 others in Balt°. might be named who spent more time and made greater exertions than himself. In 1815 he was desirous of being chosen a member of the Executive Council and was pushed by his friends. Mine, without my knowledge or any desire expressed on my part, nominated me, (who was not a favorite of the Hanson party) and I was preferred. We were afterwards in the Senate together, and I had there on several occasions been compelled by a sense of duty to oppose and contribute to defeat several unjust speculating projects for opening streets and pulling down other peoples houses, for the purpose of aiding a company of speculators in City Lots, of which he was an active partner. He became dissatisfied with his situation in the Senate, where [he] could not have the control and resigned his seat. By these things his dislike of me was kept alive and increased. In 1825 and 6 I believe I may with truth repeat to you, what I know many disinterested persons have said—that I was the Leader of the House of Delegates, and had occasion by opposing several Baltimore projects to incur the displeasure of Baltimoreans. After I had at the request of Winchester, among others at Baltimore, written the Address for the Jackson Convention, (which I first proposed to Taney and got up by persuading him and others into the measure in Baltimore), Winchester immediately after that Convention was organized and a committee to draft the Address was, as usual, appointed, attempted meanly to appropriate to himself in the public opinion, a great part of the merit of that Address, by moving Resolutions, to instruct the Committee in framing the Address to have in view certain principles &c., which principles &c. he had copied almost verbatim from the Address, when it was submitted to his perusal previously to the meeting of the Convention. And after this as I stated in my last letter he brought about confusion in the Convention by moving to expunge the part, in

[1] Roger B. Taney, afterwards Chief Justice.

[2] Benjamin C. Howard, M. C. 1829–1833, 1835–1839, reporter of decisions of the Supreme Court 1843–1862.

which an allusion was made to you. In this state as in several others there is in the Legislature a City and a country interest. From the foregoing detail you will perceive, that my strength lies in the country, throughout which in every county I have warm friends. My weakness on the contrary is in the city, where is concentrated, the force of those, who would oppose my advancement. Friends in the country whose dispersion renders it difficult to bring them to act together, opposed to enemies in the city, who can easily combine, are like undisciplined militia opposed to Regulars—and I suppose I must submit. It is now said that Hughs[1] the Son in law of Gen'. Smith, who joined the Jackson forces when victory was certain is to be raised to the rank of minister to act jointly with Preble and perhaps Woodbury, as Commissioners to argue the boundary question before the King of the Netherlands[2]—and Winchester, if he does not get the Consulate at Liverpool, will have a foreign mission offered him. If this be the case, the claims of Maryland will be satisfied, and I shall be forgotten. When Maryland in 1826 was quietly floating down the united corrupt stream of federal and state patronage, I first roused the attention of the people here to the importance of the principles, to the violation of which they were yielding without opposition, by my Address to my congressional District, in making which I sacrificed a prospect, as certain as such things can be, of a seat in Congress, and by proclaiming openly my opposition to the re-election of M^r. Adams and the reasons of it brought upon me bitter hostility and much reproach. Early in 1827 I brought about the Jackson Convention, the earliest *state* convention in the U. S., wrote its address, which was read by every reading man in the state, put public sentiment in the right channel, as to the principles involved in the contest, and furnished topics and arguments to all those, who afterwards came out as Candidates before the people. It was afterwards republished, as

[1] Christopher Hughes was chargé to the Netherlands; in 1830 he was made chargé to Sweden. In 1831 Winchester was made a commissioner under the treaty of 1830 with Denmark. Maxcy was made Solicitor of the Treasury when that office was created in 1830.

[2] In reality the United States was represented by Albert Gallatin and William Pitt Preble in arguing before the King of the Netherlands the question of our northeastern boundary.

you know, in all the states South and West of this, and as it was the first address of a *State* Convention, you can judge better than I how far it might have given direction to public opinion or roused public attention in other states.[1]

After the contest waxed warm in 1828, by publications in the papers, and correspondence I brought about meetings in every district for organizing committees. At the request of the principal Jackson men, attended those district meetings, in more than half of them in our county wrote their resolutions and addresses, came near being involved in a duel with my nearest neighbor, after declining being a candidate as an elector and bringing out a Democratic Candidate with Col. Howard of Balt. in order to prevent their being two federal Candidates, in our double District, I nevertheless at the request of the people in each district took upon myself the labors of a candidate, after relinquishing its honors, and addressed the public meetings and contributed to the expense of many of them thro' the county, at the sacrifice of my time and attention to my private concerns in the busiest and most important season of the year. Most of the above particulars I have heretofore mentioned at different times to you. I now enumerate them together to refresh your recollection and that you may not think me without reason, when I say and from a consciousness of its truth, boldly say, that no one man in Maryland, I do not except Taney whom I acknowledge to be far my superior in reputation, has sacrificed so much or done so much and with so much effect to promote the Election of General Jackson as I have, and I feel assured, if all the Jackson men in the State who have attended to the course of things and I will add all the Adams men (I know their opinion by their reproaches) were bound on oath to give their opinion, nine in ten of them would confirm my declaration. After this, to be put aside and postponed to such men as Winchester and Hughes, I own stings me to the quick with mortification and chagrin, and stimulates me to use all honorable

[1] Last Summer, after Barry took the field in Kentucky, I was attracted to a speech of his, in the Telegraph, by the remarks of the Editor, who extolled it as the best view of the principles of the contest that had appeared. The sentiments struck me as familiar and before I got thro' it I found the whole frame of the argument—and by comparison afterwards, nearly one third of the very language of the Speech was taken *verbatim* from the Maryland Jackson Address.—*Footnote in the original.*

efforts with my friends to sustain my pretensions. I consented in the first instance to trouble you to bring them forward, because my pecuniary distresses rendered an appointment necessary to my relief but this motive for wishing one is now strengthened and stimulated by every sentiment of pride and suggestion of self protection. I have therefore brought my mind to ask of some of the leading men of the party in the State according to the suggestion of Mr. Ingham for letters to General Jackson. This I ought perhaps in justice to you and Mr. Ingham to do, to shew that your recommendations are supported by others. Within 12 hours after I came to this determination I accidentally met in Washington two of the most prominent and respectable men in the lower part of the state, one of them, the Jackson Electoral Candidate in 1824—the other the same in 1828, for the 1st Electoral District. With neither of them had I any personal *intimacy* but upon suggesting my wish to the one of them, with whom I was best acquainted, and his communicating it to the other, they both immediately came forward, said I had done *more* for the Jackson cause than any one in Maryland and were ready to say so to Genl. Jackson. This I requested them not to do, but would be glad to have a joint letter from them of such a character as they thought proper, without exalting me above all others. To shew you that the above statement of my services is not an unsupported ebullition of my own vanity, I inclose you a copy of their letter. I expect to receive a half a dozen others in a few days, when I shall send them to Mr. Ingham. I send you the present that you may have other authority than my own for any statement you may think proper to make to Mr. Ingham, if you think you can with propriety add any thing to what [they] have already said to him, to induce him to put his request to the president for the arrangement of Mr. Anderson to the Treasury and me to the 1st Comptrollership upon the footing suggested in my letter of day before yesterday, of personal accommodation to himself with a view to the business of his office. Unless Mr. Ingham will take interest enough in the thing to do this, I do not think from the present aspect of things, that I have any chance of success. I must beg you not to let Mr. Ingham sup-

pose from anything in your letter that I have suggested this thing to you.

I am called suddenly to close my letter for the post and I am sure before this you have cried out enough in all conscience.

Faithfully yours,

V. MAXCY.

[P. S.] Could you not frame a letter to Mr. Ingham, in such a way as would render it proper for him to show it to Genl. Jackson?

From Francis W. Pickens. C. C.

Edgefield C.H. [April 22, 1829].

MY DEAR SIR, I was very sorry to know that you had passed this place, for I never was more anxious to see you. . . . What I wished principally to see you for was to know what you thought as to the prospect of the future. For it is with the most melancholy feelings that I look on a great and gallant people, sacrificed by a government over which they have practically at present no restrictive power. I believe the true checking power of all governments is the power to destroy them. I believe after a series of years that no government that has the power to collect taxes and to declare war can be restrained but by a display of sufficient power to break it up. And in this point of view, we have the advantage over every other people, in as much as there are regular organized and acknowledged authorities, which combine the strength of large sections of our whole community, and can be brought to act on the central government . . .

Yours truly

F. W. PICKENS.

From Virgil Maxcy. C. C.

Tulip Hill, near Annapolis, May 7, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR, . . . As I was somewhat mistaken, or have reason to believe I was, in some of the views I gave in my letters to you respecting the obstacles in my way, which you have received, I will now proceed to correct them and to

give you the further and more precise information, which I collected on a late visit to Baltimore. I task your patience in reading the latter the more willingly, because it is connected with consequences, in which Taney, Gale,[1] and Howard consider your interests in this state involved—and Mr. Gale your interests also in Pennsylvania.

With respect to Major Eaton, I have no means of knowing whether I ought to change the impression communicated to you or not. In a conversation recently with Towson, he expressed an apprehension that he was not friendly to you—and feels much disgust at the influence he exerts with the President thro' Major Lewis, who lives with the Pres^t. and whom he considers as a tool of Eaton's. Genl. Green, who has had a complete blow up with Eaton, is under the same impression, and feels the same disgust. He considers Eaton as intriguing and entirely selfish.

With respect to Winchester, I have no evidence of his having interfered with respect to me and am disposed rather to think he has not, and as I fear I did injustice in my letter to you to his exertions in the late contest, I hasten to correct it by saying, that in my late visit to Baltimore I became satisfied that he was much more active than I had been led to believe. I have no reason to change my opinion that he is unfriendly to me--more from jealousy than any thing, which I thought clearly manifested in the proceedings of the Jackson Convention.

But I have now direct evidence of old Smiths active opposition. That you may comprehend more fully his motives, it is necessary that you should keep in mind the following facts. That the talent and respectability of what was once the federal Party in Maryland is with Jackson and friendly to you; the majority of that party however went with Adams.

That directly the reverse of this is true, with respect to the Democratic Party, almost all the political managers of this party having gone with the late Administration, while a majority of the Democratic Voters are with Jackson.

That a few however of the Democrats, most prominent for talent and influence, held aloof till the hardest of the fight

[1] Levin Gale, M. C., 1827-1829.

was over, but now claim to be zealous friends of General Jackson. These, *to a man*, were zealous partizans of Mr. Crawford—are now friends to Van Buren and will never forgive you. The most conspicuous of these are General Smith, Mr. Lloyd[1] and John Nelson, of Frederick. I would not be understood to intimate, that John Nelson's feelings have carried him so far as [to] give him a *personal* dislike to you, which I believe is the case with the other two gentlemen.

You will recollect that I mentioned to you, that Mr. Ingham gave me some hints of the unfriendliness of General Smith to me, by inquiring how we stood to each other, and informing me, that John Nelson was supported for Treasurer by him. These hints were enough to give direction to my inquiries, and I went directly to Taney after I arrived in Balto. He informed me that he had a few days before been informed by a friend of Nelson, that the latter had received a letter from General Smith proposing to him to become a candidate for the Office of Treasurer of the U. S. and urged it upon him upon the ground that Maxcy and Winchester (naming us two) and other conspicuous federalists would run away with all the honors of the new state of things in Maryland, if some of the old democratic party did not step forward. Nelson declined becoming a candidate. General Smith however wrote him a second letter and he consented, so that it is now reduced to certainty, that Nelson has, contrary to his inclination, lent himself as an instrument to old Smith to defeat me. The object of both however was deeper than appears on the surface, as you will presently perceive. I believe I have heretofore put you in possession of Genl. Smith's political history for the last few years—but I will now give it more fully from Taney, who has been on the spot and knows more in detail than I. Nelson's you are probably not aware of so fully—that I will give you also from Taney, who till the last three years lived in Frederick, where Nelson resides—and of course knows his political course since he left there, particularly from his numerous friends in Frederick.

Since the election of Mr. Adams, Genl. Smith authorized his friends to assure the Adams Members of the Legislature

[1] Presumably Edward Lloyd, president of the state senate. John Nelson, M. C. 1821-1823, was afterward chargé to Naples as attorney-general.

that he was a friend to his Administration. This was done and had the effect to insure his election as Senator in 1826. Altho' not entirely trusted by the Adams party, all set him down as belonging to it till the celebration of the battle of North point on the 12th Sept. 1827, five months after the Jackson Convention in Maryland was held and published their address. A few days before this celebration an old democratic friend of the Adams party, James L. Hawkins, met Gen'. Smith in the street and after a good deal of conversation with him, remarked to a friend, that Gen'. Smith was to be relied upon as a friend of the Administration (Adams). Gen. Smith however attended the Jackson celebration of the 12th Sept'. The day after Hawkins met him on the street and asked him how he could attempt to deceive him in the conversation a few days before. The Gen'. replied he had not deceived him, and that he attended the oration in commemoration of the battle of the 12th as an *invited Guest*, being invited as a revoltionary officer and the Commander of the Militia of Baltimore at the period in question—and not as a partizan of Jackson's. From that time to the late electoral Election, Taney informs me, that he attended no Jackson Meeting—made no speech—and held no public conversation by which it could be inferred that he was on Jackson's side. In a word, he gave not even the slight countenance of his name,—where it would have had weight with a few—in the hard and doubtful struggles of last fall in Baltimore: neither did he assist as far as we know, the Adams party. His neutrality and false pretences in private to both, however, lost him the confidence of all sides. It is understood however, that after the election was over he went to Washington as a full blooded Jackson man, naturally gained the confidence as such, of the unsuspecting old chieftain, between whom and himself there were some points of sympathy—both being old men—both old soldiers—and Smith holding himself out as the *Jackson* Senator from Maryland. He has been remarkably attentive to Gen'. Jackson—represented to him, that Howard and Taney and such men, as were busily engaged as electioneerers, were obliged to give recommendations to all who asked them, thereby insinuating that his representations only were to be relied on, has obtained (This Towson told me) more influence

with Genl. Jackson than any man from Maryland, and has used it to the manifest annoyance of M^{r}. Ingham in the Custom house appointments at Balt^{o}. So that he now begins to be looked up to as the dispenser of the patronage of the government, for the state of Maryland.

He himself is Senator of the U. S.

He contrived last winter to get his Son, who is very unpopular into the State Senate.

He has got his nephew Dabney Carr appointed Naval Officer—the best office at Baltimore.

He has got Lyde Goodwin, who was bred in his counting house appointed Appraiser.

Capt. Gault, formerly a sea Captain in his service, inspector.

His son in law Hughes—Chargé—and wants to raise him to the rank of minister.

How many other appointments he has an interest in amongst those of a lower grade I know not.

He now goes out of the city and volunteers in soliciting a Crawford Democrat, who had no inclination for the Office, to be a Candidate for the App^{t}. of Treasurer of the U. S. in order to defeat me.

Now the striking feature about all this business is, that every single person that I have enumerated, was at the last election a warm partizan of Crawford.

I would not be understood as objecting to all of these appointments. On the contrary Lyde Goodwin has been a true man, active and zealous and was supported by everybody as a suitable app^{t}. I only make the list out complete to show the number of friends of Genl. Smith and Crawford in the best offices in Balt^{o}.

One only of the better sort of offices in the Custom House is in a different sort of Hands—that of Surveyor, to which Col. Mosher an uniform democrat and most respectable man was recommended warmly by Taney and Howard.

All the foregoing officers are without exception of the old Democratic party, and except one or two of the tide waiters, who were not particularly recommended by Taney and Howard, and for whom they felt no interest, none of the new appointments in the custom house has been given to federalists. Of this no complaint is made. Neither Taney nor Howard

dreamed that the Jackson party was composed of Fed^sts. and Dem^ts. The distinction has sunk and they have divorced themselves from the majority of the Federalists, had forgotton the old distinctions and were in good faith active as members of the Jackson party, "one and indivisible." . . .

The truth of the matter is this, the *people* in their late arduous struggle entirely forgot old distinctions and naturally placed the men of talents, who sympathized in their feelings and views at their head—without inquiring whether they were federalists or democrats. These leading men generally in Maryland have been federalists. Hence Taney was appointed by the Jackson convention the Chairman of the Central Committee for Maryland, they having agreed at his suggestion on account of his feeble health to give him an active assistant as vice President in Col. Mosher, a most respectable democrat. They would have made Taney President of the Jackson Convention, but he insisted on their taking old General Forman, a Democrat from the eastern shore.

Now that the storm has been weathered and the ship safely got to port in Maryland under officers, who were federalists—they are to be thrown overboard, at the cry of interested men, like that treacherous old hypocrite Smith and some others, who find themselves overshadowed.

When Van Buren passed thro' Baltimore he was closeted two or three Hours with old Smith and saw no one else. . . .

These are the three leading men,[1] who now range themselves on the side of Jackson, who were formerly of the Democratic party—and came in as Crawford Men on calculation and never have sympathized with us in the support of the true principles of the contest, and they would now be glad, under the guize of democracy to rally the state under Van Buren.

There is however as yet not the slightest symptom of division as far as I can learn in the Jackson Ranks *in the country* between federalists and democrats, who have now so often and so hard fought side by side against Adams federalists and Democrats, that they have entirely forgotten the old distinctions—but to revive these old distinctions is the only means by which Old Smith can make his delinquencies be forgotten.

[1] Smith, Nelson, and Lloyd.

We are now on the eve of a great struggle for the State. The Adams forces are perfectly organized. Balt°. has but two out of 80 delegates to the Assembly and division there is of little consequence—but Taney, Howard, and Winchester all unite with me in the Opinion, that if Smith's efforts succeed and division is carried to the Country, the State is lost to Jackson—and if by possibility a majority should notwithstand ing be got and Smith and Lloyd and Nelson get up again, the State will then be thrown into Van Buren's arms.

I have thus given you a full but tedious account of the state of things in Maryland or rather in Baltimore, that you may understand our position, and may in such way as occasion may offer aid the operation of setting things to rights. I fear our friend Ingham's mind coming from the party atmosphere of Penns^a^. where the old distinctions have been kept up, is not quite free enough from local impressions to judge quite impartially of affairs in Maryland. With him you may be of service. I think however his eyes are open as to Smith—and Taney and Howard are taking steps to open the eyes of the President to Genl. Smith's true character and conduct. . . .

As to Pennsylvania politics—M^r^. Gale boarded last winter in a Mess with Genl. Barnard and a number of the Pennsylvanians, not very friendly to M^r^. Ingham. He thinks from what he saw that the nomination of Wolf[1] as Governor in preference to Barnard, will not be submitted to—but that an opposition Convention will be got up and a new nomination made, in which case there will be a split of the Jackson party, and the Adams party will take the side opposed to Ingham and give it a majority. Wolf I understand is friendly to Ingham and yourself. Gale tells me farther that he is in the habit of taking excursions for health into different parts of Pennsylvania in the Summer—that he is acquainted with the leading federalists—that there are about 40,000 federal votes in Penns^a^. and that most of them are for you. Now if the split apprehended should take place and the proscribing language be used towards federalists, which is customary in Penn^a^. will it not have a tendency to alienate these federal votes from Ingham and you—and give a Majority to your

[1] George Wolf, governor of Pennsylvania from December 1829 to December 1835.

opponents? Gale is a sagacious man and I throw out these hints for your consideration. . . .

Since writing the above, I have received a Telegraph which contains an account of a meeting being called near Pittsburgh in conformity with the recommendation of another in Chester County near Philadelphia—of Jacksons friends, who are also friends of the "American System", to denounce the nomination of Wolf as Govr. as being your friend and to call a new Convention of Jacksonians to nominate a Candidate for Governour opposed to John C. Calhoun: this movement seems strikingly to confirm Gale's view of things in Penn^a. . . .

Your faithful but too anxious Friend

V. MAXCY.

From James Hamilton.[1] C. C.

Pennyworth Island, Savannah River, May 10th 1829.

MY DEAR SIR. I owe you many apologies for not previously answering your kind favor of the 10th ulto. which after some delay was forwarded to me from Charleston,—and even now I must throw myself on your indulgence as I am on the eve of saling (tomorrow) for New York with my family. This last cause will prevent my going to Pendleton this Spring which I had fully intended to have done, but unfortunately I found no friend going in the Ship in which it was necessary for Mrs. Hamilton to embark with whom I could have intrusted my family, hence it has become necessary for me to sail with them. We shall probably return by Land, and make our calculations to reach your hospitable mansion about the last of Oct. I shall devote the summer to our Pendleton Lyceum with the hope of consummating the arrangements necessary for its establishment. I will thank you to exercise all possible reserve in even hinting the name of Mr. Cogswell[2] as the

[1] James Hamilton (1786-1857) had been a member of the House of Representatives from 1823 to 1829. He was governor of South Carolina from 1830 to 1832, during the nullification troubles. Subsequently he removed to Texas and had an active part in the conduct of the Texan diplomacy.

[2] Joseph G. Cogswell, at this time head of the famous school at Round Hill, Northampton, Mass., at which several South Carolina Hamiltons, sons or nephews of the governor, were students. Later Hamilton and others tried to get Dr. Cogswell to take the presidency of South Carolina College. See Cogswell's Life, pp. 193-196, 357.

person I am looking to as its head, as such a rumor would not fail to injure his present institution.

Having said so much in relation to an object near my heart permit me to say one word in relation to another which I am endeavoring to cast from it as fast as possible—*Politicks.* What think you of the recent appointments? I fear the old Gentleman is pushing the Figure too far. I cannot understand the true key to them, whether they are under the influence of Van Buren Ingham or Eaton. The metropolitan appointments I suspect very strongly are to be referred to the back stair influence of the latter. I feel a painful regret in the consciousness of the career which Circumstances may compel you to run in competition for an office, which in the present Confederacy it seems can not be won with pride or held with consolations of personal happiness.

I had a very unexpected tho' most gratifying visit from McDuffie on his way to Charleston. I am delighted to find that Miss Singleton[1] has at last smiled and will soon bless him.

Some business in Washington in regard to live oak timber will carry me on there after my arrival in New York. I presume I shall reach the City about the 1st June. If anything should occur whilst there which I think will be interesting to you I will write you. My address will be Northampton Mass. Mr H. unites with me in our best recollections to your Mother and Mrs Calhoun and I remain My dear Sir

With great respect and esteem faithfully yours,

J. HAMILTON JR.

P. S. I have written to Hayne and Pinckney to keep up the Fire on the tariff and I shall not be idle for the So Review[2] this Summer at N Hampton.

From Francis W. Pickens. C. C.

Edgefield C. H. May 24th, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR, . . . I fear I did not express myself with sufficient clearness with reference to the important power of restraining government. When I suggest the idea that no

[1] McDuffie was married in 1829 to the daughter of Col. Richard Singleton. He died in 1830.

[2] Established at Charleston by Elliott and Legaré in February, 1828.

people can practically have the power to restrain government, unless they have within themselves sufficient power to destroy it, I do not mean to say that they must of course exercise that dreadful power. No government can be restrained unless those who control its operations habitually feel that those upon whom it acts can at any moment stop it. Public opinion itself can have little or no influence in a series of years, unless it be created and supported by those who have real positive power. Government is real positive power, and nothing but an equal real positive power can restrain it. The real constitutions of all governments have been the result of positive power. A written constitution is nothing unless the people have actual power to enforce it. My idea as regards our present condition is not "revolutionary." It is that we not only have at present power to destroy our government, but we fortunately have power to restrain it without destroying it. What other people have heretofore wanted in restraining government, namely system and combination, we have through our organized state authorities. But I hold that there can be but very little practical effect produced by any thing short of a display of real power.

Whatever may be said about our Constitution, I think in reality we can hardly be said to have a constitution yet.

The real constitution of any Government is that government in action. We are now called upon to make a constitution to our government in one of its most important operations, the collection of taxes. And it is all important we should make it compatible with the perfect protection of property. If we as a people have power to fortify our liberties against the operations of our government, we will make the constitution of the government, if we have not, those who administer it will make the constitution. I have the most perfect confidence in the opinion that we have the full power, and that we will exercise it, and without revolution. And that we will finally make this one of the strongest governments in the world, and at the same time entirely harmless to the liberties of the people.

I should not at this time have troubled you with this explanation if I had not felt myself misunderstood. . . .

Yours sincerely,

F. PICKENS.

From Virgil Maxcy. C. C.

Tulip Hill, near Annapolis, June 1, 1829.

My dear Sir, . . . He[1] satisfied me from the perfectly frank and cordial manner in which he spoke of his great obligations to and regard for you, that notwithstanding all his great appointments seem to be given to a certain class of politicians, yet that he has not bestowed them with a view to favour Mr. V. B. He alluded to you and Mr. V. B. being held up as [aiming?] at the same station and avowed his determination to act with impartiality. In the sincerity of this declaration, I place implicit reliance and attribute his apparently departing from the rule he has prescribed to himself as only a proof of the adroitness which has been used in making impressions on his mind, that have led to what those, who do not know him, believe to be indicative of inclining to favor Mr. V. B.—who has great advantages in being constantly near him. Indeed everything that passed between me and the Prest. on the day I dined with him and two other interviews to which *he* invited me, have confirmed all my previous impressions of the purity, singleminedness, elevation and benevolence of his character. . . .

Faithfully V. Maxcy.

From Virgil Maxcy. C. C.

Tulip Hill, July 4, 1829.

My dear Sir, Your letter of the 21st June has just reached me. I had been intending for the last 4 or 5 days to write you in compliance with a wish of Mr. Ingham, whom I saw last Sunday at Washington, where private business had called me the day before. A very unpleasant state of things has arisen between him and General Green, which he was desirous you should be acquainted with, but about which he felt reluctant to write. It appears that Mr. I. gave some small jobs of printing to a Pennsylvania Printer, who lives at Washington, named Myers, and that afterwards Mr. Barry, the Postmaster General, did the same—Green says, on Mr. I's recommenda-

[1] President Jackson.

tion, but this Mr. I. says was not so. Green says he has the authority of Barry—and as Mr. I. denies it, says he is determined to get it from Barry in writing. The truth probably is, that Barry employed Myers from the example of Mr. Ingham and used some expression in apology to Green, (for between them also there has been some difficulty,) from which the latter inferred a recommendation by Mr. I. Under this impression, G. wrote a sharp letter to Mr. I.—when he was in Pennsylvania, which provoked a Retort of the same character. G. afterwards wrote a letter of apology, which Mr. I. never received. He has however thro' Dr. Jones made him acquainted with it. G. told me (for he as well as Mr. I. volunteered in giving me his view of the case,) it was not the amount of the job given to Myers which he considered, but the disposition it indicated of neglect towards one who had involved himself deeply in debt in support of the cause. Green was much dissatisfied previously at Mr. I's appointing Mr. Dickins, (an old Crawford man and now as he says, devoted to V. Buren) his chief clerk and pretty freely remonstrated against the appointment, and thinks Mr. I. does not take a sufficiently decided Stand in preventing the great appointments taking the same course (4 out of 5 of the foreign ministers, who have received appointments under this Administration being old Crawford men and the 5th (Moore) originally a friend of Clay and not one, yours,) and thereby making an impression on the public, that Mr. V. B. is the favored man as Jackson's successor. In the case of Dickins, Mr. I. cut the matter short by plainly intimating that he would not be interfered with in the appointments in his own department. Green has lately in his paper made some remarks upon this appointment which will no doubt attract your notice, which have deeply wounded and offended Mr. I. Green complains that his enemies are promoted and his friends neglected. Mr. I. says he assumes a great deal too much, is very unreasonable and would, if he could, dictate every appointment under the government, that he has been gratified in too many of his wishes already in relation to appointments and that most of those which have displeased the public and exposed the Administration to reproach were made to gratify him: that he has no discretion; that his paper instead of being

a repertory of essays to prepare public opinion for the changes in policy which the new Adm^{n}. will adopt is occupied in squabbles with editors of opposition prints: and is altogether unfit to be considered the Government paper. G. says that that paper has been devoted as much to the advancement of M^{r}. Ingham as any other individual, Genl Jackson excepted and Mr. I. says he came to Washington at the risk of his life, such was the feeble state of his health, to vote for G. as Printer to Congress. Such is the state of things between them, as given by each of them respectively. As both of them had volunteered in giving me the history of their dissatisfaction, I was in hopes to have had it in my power, especially as each professed to have kind wishes for the other, to contribute to the restoration of things to a better state, and continued at Washington a day longer than I intended for the purpose. My efforts however were apparently fruitless—tho' they may perhaps have an effect after a little time has elapsed and excitement has diminished.

I fear that this difference may have mischievous consequences, and I have therefore been minute in detail, that you may judge whether you can interfere with propriety or advantage.

Gen. Green has now had a difference—more or less decided—either about appointments or printing, with each of the heads of department—and was near one with Genl Jackson himself. This circumstance together with others coming under my own observation lead my mind to the conclusion, that Gen. Green, tho' he has high claims to attention, has interfered *too much* and in an *ungracious manner*. Most assuredly I think enough has been done to satisfy a reasonable person in the way of appointments of friends and some of them have laid the Admn. open to reproach. How far he has reason to complain on the score of patronage being given to other printers, I am not able to judge. M^{r}. I. says the jobs he has given to Myers who is poor, were inconsiderable. At all events G's public attack upon him in the Telegraph on this account and the appointment of Dickins appear to me to be altogether unjustifiable, and looks like an attempt to coerce M^{r}. I. to submit. It has so deeply offended and wounded him, that I fear there will be more difficulty in appeasing him than G. The latter avers he

meant the publication as a defence of himself against charges of a dictatorial influence with the government and not an attack upon Mr. I. I acquainted Mr. I. with this disavowal. He gives no credit to it however and thinks the matter lies much deeper than this and that G. is endeavoring to establish a control over the departments by appealing to the fears of the heads of them—and thinks notwithstanding the attachment he has always professed for you he would attack you without hesitation, if you should cross his path. I have seen enough of G. to believe he is a man of pretty violent temper; but, I apprehend, he is more placable than Mr. I. when he is once much provoked. You however know them both better than I do. Green called to see Mr. I. two or three times after his return from Penn^a but did not find him at home. This was before the offensive piece appeared in the Telegraph. Mr. I. had taken no notice of his calls—but he was not then aware that Green had written him a letter in apology of the sharp one he wrote on hearing Ingham had recommended Barry to employ Myers in job printing. And now the publication in the Telegraph interposes an obstacle to the renewal of friendly intercourse.

And now, altho I think in the business above detailed, G is decidedly in fault, yet I must say, that I think with G. that Mr. I. does not take a sufficiently decided stand to secure an impartial distribution of the Offices. I infer this, not only from the fact that a very undue proportion of the important ones have been given to men of the old Crawford Party, now supposed to be friendly to V. Buren, but from an observation he has several times made to me, that he thought it his duty to be the adviser of the President, *when consulted*, rather than to become the *advocate* of Candidates for office, by recommending them beforehand, and that this is the best mode of preserving his influence with him. As a general rule perhaps this is the best but surrounded as Genl. Jackson is by persons who have none of this delicacy, and liable, as the impression now seems to be, to yield to the solicitations of friends and to be governed too much by his personal feelings towards candidates, rather than by political considerations, the rigid adherence to this rule seems to be out of place in the actual circumstances in which he Mr. I. is placed. I believe the Pres^t.

wishes to be impartial between you and V. B. but from the fact that your friends have received none of the conspicuous appointments since Ingham's own, and that V. B.'s have obtained many more than all the original Jackson Men and your friends together, the impression certainly is made upon many people at Washington, that the Pres^{t}. leans to V. B. and is giving such a course to things as will advance his future views. Should the apprehension that is felt that the vacancy, which it is supposed will happen from the return of Poinsett the only one of the foreign Ministers friendly to you, will also be filled by a friend of V. B's be well founded, this impression will be confirmed. But as you may suppose, that my representations respecting M^{r}. I's inertness may be erroneous from feeling that I have myself suffered by it, I do not like to say much upon this subject nor wish you to take my opinion. Col. Towson, however, who is disinterested, is so strongly under the impression, that the current of appointments having taken the course it has, is owing to M^{r}. I's want of decision and activity, that he told me he felt it his duty and had made up his mind to speak freely with him about the necessity of his resisting it. He goes so far in this opinion as to think with Green that he ought not to have given Dickins the place of his chief clerk. On this subject M^{r}. I. has convinced me that in this instance he was right.

I have thus given you a full view of the difficulties between Ingham and Green. I cannot help thinking, tho both appear to be obstinate, that both desire a reconciliation. To effect this requires a friend of both parties with more authority than I possess—and you can judge better than I whether it is proper or expedient for you to exert a mediatorial influence. . . .

Faithfully, V. MAXCY.

From James Gadsden.[1] C. C.

Wascissa 12 aug^{t} 1829

MY DEAR SIR: I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 26th ulto by the last mail. Your not being able to com-

[1] James Gadsden (1788—1858), a member of an eminent South Carolina family, had served in the army as aid-de-camp to General Jackson. Retiring, he had now become a planter in Florida. Subsequently he was president of the South Carolina Railroad, and negotiated the Gadsden Treaty of 1853.

ply with the requests contained in my communication of a previous date was of no consequence, as it seems the office of Secretary for the Territory was filled before the application of any Individuals from this quarter could be submitted to the Executive of the U States. I regret it, not that the Person appointed[1] may not be very meretorious and fully equal to the duties of the station to which advanced, but that the people of this Territory, like the citizens of the States generally, feel very sensitive on the subject of having their public officers sent from abroad. It brings more home to them their colonial condition, and increases that restlessness which too many of them manifest on that subject. In the early organisation of our government These appointments from abroad were unavoidable, but since the increase of our strength by a population that would not lose in character and intelligence, by a comparason with that of older communities; it would be more gratifying to have those who are to administer our laws and protect our rights selected from those who are acquainted with our wants and resources. There is another subject which has likewise given much dissatisfaction to a very respectable, though limited portion of our population; That is the neglect of the old inhabitants in all the appointments made among us. It was bad policy not at once, by a proper confidence in their ability and patriotism, to have early convinced them that they had been received into the American family. You will excuse my enlarging on these topics; I have done so, that if concurring in opinion with me, you may lend your influence to have the qualifications and character of applicants from the Territory weighed in the same scale with those from other quarters.

I thank you for the flattering expressions of your wishes in relation to my political prospects. You may be assured that neither myself or friends are dispirited. We are contending for *principle* in the triumph of which we have every confidence. Indeed the day would have been with us at the late conflict; but for a manoeuvre to split the votes by a third candidate, and for the appeal made at the last moment to the *good*, I should say in political affairs [the] *weak*, feelings of a

[1] James D. Westcott, jr., of New Jersey, a clerk in the Department of State; afterward U. S. senator.

community by the present incumbent.[1] His character was at stake and he threw himself upon the humanity of his constituents to save him from the odium which the loss of election would render inevitable. A sufficient number were operated on to turn the scale; [and] send him back to Washington the representative of a minority of the People of Florida.

It would afford me pleasure to hear often from you and I would esteem it as a favor if during the session of Congress you would forward me copies of all public documents that would be interesting. The Reports of the Heads of Departments would be particularly acceptable to

Yours ob

JAMES GADSDEN.

From J. H. Hammond.[2]

Silver Bluff 9th Feb 1840

MY DEAR SIR: I have never been at a loss for sound reasons to justify your course during the political fluctations of the last two or three years. The various constructions placed upon it by your opponents have not for a moment imposed upon me. The only anxiety I have felt was to know precisely what you had done and how far you had gone. When these points were correctly ascertained, I have always found you to be where I expected and in my judgment where you should be. If I had felt any great uneasiness from the late rumours and any fear that you were committing yourself to the extent reported, your letter would have afforded me ample relief. To many who look back a few years it may appear strange to see you acting with the Democratic Party. But they are superficial observers. Your—I may say our alliance with the Whigs—for I was on the field then—was merely accidental and wholly temporary. There was more [in] common between us and the Democrats, than between us and the Whigs. The latter are the successors of the great Federal and anti Southern

[1] Joseph M. White of Pensacola, delegate from the territory of Florida, 1825-1837.

[2] Text derived from a copy kept by Governor Hammond and lent to the editor by Mr. E. S. Hammond.

Party and had hardly any tie in common with us, except that of opposition to the high handed measures of one man. He has passed away, and although we cannot all at once rush into the arms of his immediate friends, the advisers, supporters and beneficiaries of his obnoxious measures, still the bond of union with the other party is dissolved and we are left free to adopt independant opinions upon all questions: to hold the balance if we can, and to incline it if we choose towards our ancient friends. Time which blunts the deepest injuries should be allowed certainly to soften political asperities and if it may not soon restore perfect confidence, it will certainly justify a renewal of the ordinary courtesies of society. These opinions I entertained when I was at Washington as strongly as I do now, and few things in relation to individuals at least, have occurred which I did not then in some measure anticipate. I do not know that my opinion of any single individual in public life has undergone a shade of change, except as regards M^r. Van Buren, and I must confess he has grown upon me every way. I think more of his abilities and certainly more of his moral qualities. Still he has not as yet my entire confidence. Between him and Harrison or Clay I do not think I should have ever hesitated even at the last election. To most of his leading measures I have given a most hearty approval. In fact I have found little to disapprove. Yet being a Proclamation and Force bill man, I do not think it would become South Carolina, or the men most conspicuous in the support of her doctrines at that day, to give a devoted, unreserved, undiscriminating adhesion to his administration. It would not look well in history. A fair and honest support of his just measures could not compromise us, nor will it give him the vote of the state if it is at all likely that any man liable to the same objections, and far more removed from us in general political principles may succeed in consequence of throwing our vote away.

The reform of the Government to which you have devoted yourself so long, I almost dispair of. Circumstances conspire to render this the most favourable moment for it, certainly since my recollection. If you can succeed in establishing any thing like a permanence for the balance of power which you now hold, it may be done. Whether the next election will

enable you to do it or not, you can much better judge than I can. I fear the decided preponderance of either party, should be glad to see them balanced forever pretty much as they are in this congress.

You say nothing of your health—I trust it is entirely restored. I lost much in not being able to converse freely and at large with you last summer as I wished to do. I wish I could promise myself a visit to Pendleton this summer but I fear my business will carry me in a different direction. In the meantime an occasional letter denoting the passing changes if not too much trouble to you would be highly acceptable.

J. H. H.

From J. H. Hammond.[1]

Silver Bluff 29th April. 1840

My dear Sir: I did not receive your letter of the 2nd inst until a few days ago owing to its being in the newspaper bag I presume. It is perfectly true as you say that in consequence of the fortunate organisation of our State Constitution we have been in the main freed from local parties. But perfect harmony is not the lot of any body politic however organised, for it is inconsistent with the nature of man. We have been agitated as much as any other state by divisions having reference to Federal politics and I see no reason to suppose we shall be soon exempt from them. The great question of State rights and consolidation has divided us from the foundation of the Government to the present day, under various names and must continue to do so. The last conflict between the friends of these two doctrines under the names of nullifiers and Union men, resulted in such a complete overthrow of the latter as to produce the nearest possible approach to Unanimity that men are capable of. The excitement of the contest over, the triumphant party being too large to hold together under ordinary circumstances divided. The minority taking

[1] Text derived from a copy kept by Governor Hammond and lent to the editor by Mr. E. S. Hammond. The canvass which is discussed in this and the succeeding letters resulted in the election of Col. John P. Richardson as governor of South Carolina for the term 1840-1842; Hammond was governor from 1842 to 1844.

advantage of every division have gradually risen into sufficient strength to contend again for the supremacy. They profess no change in any of their past opinions, but on the contrary claim every new accession of strength and atribute [it] to the soundness of their principles, and the other patrons of the Union almost unanimously concur in the same view of it. This is I think our real situation. And the contest now for the Executive chair is neither more or less than a struggle between State Rights and consolidation for ascendency in S. C. I know very well that the Union men profess to be States Rights men and repudiate consolidation and that the great party to which they belong do. So they all did in thirty two-three, with equal vehemence, when the Force Bill was passed and preparations made to coerce the State with arms. Professions are one thing principles another and our party has recognized the distinction all along by declaring war upon or at least keeping aloof from those who were loudest in proclaiming their devotion to state Rights as explained by the Proclamation. I am not one of those who push any matter to unnecessary extremes. I never have pushed party warfare beyond the limits which principle rigidly demanded. In the present instance, hoping that it would not be necessary for the continued triumph of our principles to unseal the fountains of bitterness, I have exhorted my friends not to answer the violent articles of our opponents and have held back articles already written untill I fear I have endangered our cause. But I do not believe that it is in my power were I ever so much disposed, or in any man to dry *those fountains up*. The Union and nullification parties bear relations to each other that have not existed between any two parties in our Country since the revolution. They have stood opposed in arms. And prepared to shed each others blood, the one for, the other against their native State in a struggle for all she held dear nay for her very existence. The Union men carried the matter to the very last and blackest die of treason. They invited a foreign enemy to our shore and received arms and commission at their hands. These things can never be forgotten. The mass of those two parties can never exist together except as the conquered and the conquerors. And were the present elections submitted to a popular vote, no man doubts that I should solely on the

ground of principle carry an overwhelming majority over the combined vote of my opponents.

Whatever the leaders of our party may do at the present moment every body knows that the Union party will adhere together as one man and support either of the Union candidates in preference to a nullifier. There will be Union men in the Legislature from States Rights districts who will not go with them. But they will otherwise pretty unanimously go for either of their Candidates rather than for me for the obvious purpose of putting their party in power. The only effect then of endeavouring to produce a pacification now will be to disband our party and surrender ourselves an easy prey to them. There could not be a more effectual way to aid Col Richardson's election than to urge this measure. In fact it is the only possible way in which he can be elected. I throw mere personal claims in which Judge Johnson is vastly superior to both of us, entirely out of the question. Col R's election however will be but the first consequence that will [follow] surrender of our power. Judge J. will certainly succeed him. Indeed I am not at all sure that if the pretended pacification is effected he will not beat Col. R. He is, it is pretty well understood, the favourite of the Union party and I believe more palitable to the nullifiers, who if they can swallow his unrepudiated Union doctrines and Union measures will not strain at his disavowed Bank and Clay propensities. The general impression is however that Col R can divide our party more than Judge J., and on that account he is pushed. At the next election we will not be considered at all and the Union men will indulge themselves to the full. The vacancy for the Senate will be filled by Judge Hug[h]es. This is a thing they have much at heart and Elmore Rhett and the whole host of nullifiers who have been designated for the office will be disappointed. I could name candidates for all the probable vacancies to come. A most thorough revolution in our State will occur beyond doubt.

But the consequences are by no means to stop here. Situated as we now are our State commands the respect and the admiration of the whole Union and by her gallant struggle in thirty two-three has laid the foundation of a renown which must go on increasing forever while she faithfully adheres to

the glorious principle for which she fought. This has given her immense influence, not in the elections of the federal Government, where numbers only count, but over its measures. An influence worth more than all the official honours of the government, which can only be maintained by a lofty and uncompromising devotion to principle and which will be speedily lost by any other course. At the next session of the Legislature we shall be called on to vote for Mr V Buren for President. A Proclamation and Force Bill man whom we have covered with every opprobious epithet our language could afford. It is a bitter pill. His professions are fair and for nearly four years his conduct has been nearly unexceptionable, but more far more than this—he is in every way more nearly allied to us in principle than his opponent and we may justify at least excuse ourselves on the ground that he is a choice of evils. Still we shall not escape without some abatement of admiration and of influence of the kind we most desire. But if at the very same session we should here at home abandon those who have been with us in every difficulty and are yet with us in every principle, to vote for another Proclamation and Force Bill man for Governor of So Car. who has actively supported every measure of his party and recants nothing now, how can we expect to retain the high station we hold in the Union. We shall be scoffed and sneered at from one end of it to the other. We shall be charged with not only surrendering our doctrines but of endeavouring to obliterate every trace of them in order to purchase favours from abroad. The influence of S. C. such as it may be will no longer rest on the exalted ground of uncorruptable devotion to her principles, but to the paltry estimate of her numerical strength in the confederacy, and that influence trifling as it must be will be swept away entirely from the old State Rights Party. And more than this these scoffs and these charges will be incorporated in history and handed down to our posterity. Since the last war the event which must figure incomparably the most in our annals is the nullification of S. C. Do what we may hereafter the reputation of our State and of her rulers for the time—yourself the foremost of them, is identified with it beyond the power of fate to seperate them. Should the power of the state be thus thrown into the hands

of those who actually took up arms against that measure while it is yet acknowledge[d] that those who supported it have still a clear ascendency, will it not be writing as it were with our own hands in the page of history that in seven short years so unsound had it proved and so odious had it become that we voluntarily renounced it and sought to banish it from the memory of man by the most humiliating exhibitions of repentance. If our principles were so odious and we ever doubted they were sound, situated as we are we might be well justified in cherishing their ascendency in our stronghold here. But believing as we do that they are the great principles on which the foundations of our government repose and by which alone civil liberty can be preserved, ought we not to pause and ponder deeply ere we surrender that ascendency—their only chance of final triumph.

You very justly remark that we are now to carry out the fruits of our noble achievement of thirty two-three. And with the prospect ahead for the agitation of the tariff war and other questions, it seems to me that every care should be taken that S. C. should be shorn of none of her moral influence—much less called on to defend inconsistency and her integrity. Yet how can we expect to carry out our great achievement by placing in power at home as well as abroad the very men over whom the glorious victory was gained? or how to escape the heaviest reproaches for such an uncalled for and extraordinary course. It is true that, each party marching on its line of direction, we have met in the support of one important measure. If that measure constituted the very essence of all our differences there is no reason why we should at once invest our opponents with the cheif command, not only in the federal, but State Government. But every body knows that important as that measure is, and the principles which it involves, it involves none of a tithe of the magnitude of those which have divided us. There is no telling at what moment we shall seperate again—soon we must. The next days march will place us as far apart as ever. Your experience will no doubt furnish you with many instances of the fatal consequences of putting trust in these accidental and temporary conjunctions of opponents. Confidence too wantonly lavished is despised and will be certainly betrayed.

In touching on this subject I cannot refrain from saying what I think even at the hazard of appearing to magnify the contest and myself and of wishing to draw you into it. I fear to make any more professions that such is not my aim, or the personal indifference I feel about this or any other office. To time, the only true expounder of events, I leave the matter. . . .

From J. H. Hammond.[1]

May 4, 1840

MY DEAR SIR . . . . Circumstances had placed us in alliance (connection rather) with the Democratic party of the country, tho' we professed at the same time to be of a higher school of democracy, one of fixed principle and incompatible faith. We had not only come to their assistance in the hour of peril and gallantly rescued them from certain ruin, altho' we had long been the object of their peculiar venom, but to prove the sincerity with which we acted towards them, had proposed to relax our past policy and instead of throwing away the vote of S. C. as usual, to give it to their leader for the Presidency. This was doing a great deal. More than they would have done for us—more than they could have had the boldness to ask of us. It was doing enough. To place their men in power every where, to unite with them thoroughly and as a party in all their measures, was to obliterate all the lines of distinction so carefully drawn and identify ourselves with the great rabble of democracy and be swept away in the common current. The Democratic party are notoriously fickle and their leaders for the most part treacherous. These are the failings which prevent them from controling the world at once and forever. When the next change of measures, the next tergeversation of men occurred what were we to do? We could not draw off our forces and form them again where we stood before. It would be like "calling spirits from the vasty deep." They would not come. No man could expect to see men marched and countermarched in this way to meet every turn of policy or even principle. The leader who does

[1] Text derived from a copy kept by Governor Hammond and lent to the editor by Mr. E. S. Hammond.

must often find himself without followers. It would take years to form another band such as had been thus thoughtlessly dissolved and all the time we should have been floundering along in the impure current of corrupt democracy.

Every President that we have yet had has devoted his last term to the election of his successor. So will Mr V B beyond a doubt. I have as little doubt that we shall be called on to oppose his selection and that the greater part of the next five years we shall be in opposition. He is now playing for us because we are necessary to him. We shall not be necessary to, but in the way of his nominee, and a very different game will be played after his re-election. But how would we be prepared to oppose him if we surrendered our citadel to his Subalterns and disbanded our forces? On what ground could we rally? Whom summon to our standard? We should be disarmed, dispersed, and powerless. Our principles dishonoured, our chiefs corrupted or forgotten. . . .

From J. H. Hammond.[1]

31 May 1840

My dear Sir I am almost ashamed to continue any further the discussion of the question connected with Gov. election, altho' I have made as little mention of myself as possible and examined the matter precisely as I would have done had some other person occupied my position, still I am aware that everything I urge will be naturally aud perhaps justly suspected of a bias towards my own interest and would therefore come with more force from any other person than myself. Having been led on by your friendly appreciation of my views and motives to speak very freely and fully to you, I feel that it is in some sort due to myself to reply to some points in your last letter. You seem to think that I am for reviving the old party distinctions and bringing them to bear in the present election. I have perhaps not been sufficiently explicit on this point. I do not wish to revive but merely to

[1] Text derived from a copy kept by Governor Hammond and lent to the editor by Mr. E. S. Hammond.

maintain the old party distinctions as they have existed up to the present moment. My object is purely conservation. I do not think that sound policy any more than good taste require we should *agitate* the State Rights doctrines at this time. But I do think that both require us, as does every consideration of past association and future prosperity, to maintain their ascendency in S. C. quietly but freely and undoubtedly. There are periods in the career of parties as in the lives of men, when they should rest on their position, and wait for events to come up to them. Parties as well as men must inevitably fail if forever in action. But at these periods of respite Care must be taken that no ground is lost. That what we have won is amply maintained and converted in[to] a base for further operations at the proper juncture. If we waver or retreat we have done and suffered for nothing—but if we take another step and when convinced that it is an unpropitious period to press our fortunes from the mere love of excitement or habit of action, we enlist in the cause of our opponents and press theirs, we commit suicide at once. My object has been to explain to you my conviction, that while we could repose safely on the ground which the State Rights party has won, to vote for Mr V. B. would be barely not a retreat while to elect Col Richardson would be a clear case of felo de se. There is some jumble of figures here but I think you cannot now mistake my idea.

You say you doubt the practicability and expediency of drawing and maintaining the party lines of 1832. If my views are correct the question of practicability and expediency belong to the other side of the argument. Is it practicable to break down the lines which it is now for the first time attempted to do? They ask the change; they should prove that it can be done and will prove beneficial. Up to this period these lines have been uniformly prescribed. No Union man has yet been elected to any prominent office. I do not remember a single office in the gift of the Legislature which has yet been filled by an union. I do not believe they have yet offered a candidate for a high office. They would not have ventured to offer one for Gov. or if they had he would have been rejected of course but for the intrigue on the part of the nullifiers themselves to surrender the State into their hands as I

verily believe and as I generally believed for ulterior purposes at home and abroad. As to the expediency of this amalgamation, this one sided peace as it would prove, I have already expressed myself very fully to you and every days observation and reflection confirms my views. There are two courses for men parties, corporations or any identical political bodies however designated, to pursue in public affairs. One is to trust to the attachment of friends without reward and to endeavour to obtain success by conciliating and purchasing opponents. The other is to cherish friends, to adhere to old associations, to nurse the cause and its supporters thro' good and thro evil report and to look for triumph from the goodness of the cause and the unwavering fidelity with which it is maintained. The first course, not to go back further in history, was strongly illustrated by the Stuarts. This example should be enough. They fell ultimately in the cause of the Catholic religion and yet the Pope himself is said to have favoured the expulsion of James the second, so inconsistent and vascillating had the adoption of the maxim of his family made him. George the first on the other hand threw himself entirely into the hands of the Whigs, and the house of Brunswick could never have established itself on the English throne but for the firmness and fidelity with which the two first Georges adhered to their own party. In our own Country the two Adams have rewarded their opponents by allowing them to hold offices; both of them fell in a single term, while Jefferson and Jackson who took care of their friends and left their enemies to take care of themselves, became founders of dynasties. What but a deep conviction of the wisdom of this course could induce Mr. V. B.—who is profound in the knowledge of human nature, to appoint that miserable creature Niles to the office of Post Master General. The fidelity of men to parties and to one another, has in it under all circumstances something in it that meets the universal approval of mankind and is the foundation of individual success; of all triumph of principles. What has destroyed Mr. Clay but that, trusting to his position in the West and with the South, he has ever been aiming to form an unnatural alliance with the North, until he has at length, as a public man, lost the confidence of all, and but for his personal qualities, his private fidelity to friends, would have sunk ere this

into universal execration. The State Rights party of which you have so long been the head, rests all its hopes of ultimate success upon its unblenching and eternal faith, a faith which may sometimes blaze into enthusiasm, but must never subside so far as to be doubted by others, much less by ourselves. This is the worldly armour of a good cause, and it is in vain to look for triumph without its use. Events do not always follow closely upon causes. Erect, undaunted, firmly maintaining the ground that we have won, let us bide our time. If impatient of success we seek for foreign allies, divide ourselves and fall into the ranks upon whose standard victory seems to have perched himself, the triumph is not for our day. To other times and other hands it must be left, while we shall have only the consciousness of having done and suffered much for a noble cause and at last betrayed it for want of the highest degree of moral courage.

You say you are not disposed to merge our party in the two great parties of the day. I am sure you are sincere. Yet how is it possible to avoid it if we throw ourselves into the contest for Mr Van Buren as there seems to be a disposition to do and as the Union Party (or the portion of them which is supposed to act with us) is resolved to do and at the same time surrender the helm of State to a man whose whole public career has been strictly partisan and opposed to us. I do not think there is another candid man in S. C. who will express a doubt that the election of Col R under the circumstances would be a complete and thorough merging of our party forever. He does not come into our ranks or claim promotion *as one of us*. But distinctly demands it as an allied leader on the ground that the two parties have been merged into each other. It is so universally understood. It is so universally talked of. And I think any interpretation of the proposal as amounting to any thing else would be warmly repudiated by them who made it—the State Rights friends of Col R. The common sense may not always be the correct one, but is very difficult to alter or get over it when wrong and in this case I must say I think it is right. And were I to pursue public life with a view to personal success, I should in the case of Col R's election regulate my course precisely as if the State Rights party were extinct and its principles in abeyance for our day.

For to S. C. it is looked to maintain them. If she falters others fly. If she yields all is over. Our taking such a part in the Presidential election as merely to vote will I know be regarded abroad as a merger of our party. But if we maintain ourselves in it at home, and give that vote coldly, we can when the storm is over, easily rectify our standing. At least we can do it, I believe. I cannot tell how easily. I am willing to incur that risk, if it is thought advisable, tho as to our being considered "impracticable" and all that if we do not do, would [not] influence my opinion. It is too late to consider that. We took our course long ago and have borne the odium. To change it now without sufficient reason would but increase that odium, by putting the seal of our own reprobation on our conduct. . . .

From Duff Green.[1]

Baltimore Aug. 21st. 1840

DEAR SIR It is no longer possible for you to mistake the signs of the times. I have given you too many proofs of my affection, I will not say friendship, for you to doubt my desire to serve you. Had you been advised by me in 1831 you would have been the Candidate in opposition to Genl Jackson and elected and the country saved the misery and the disgrace which followed. Had you been advised by me you would have been at the head of the present movement and at this moment the most popular man in the United states. It is yet my desire to serve you and if you give me your confidence, and improve on my suggestions it will yet be in your power to trample over your enemies and serve your Country. I enclose you a letter to Col. Chas. S Todd, Gen Harrison's confidential friend. Harrison understands Clay. He will be pressed by so many who want office that he will be glad to fall back on you if you and your friends act discreetly from this forward. The Editor of the Mercury and the papers most friendly to you ought to moderate their tone towards him, and the result will be that before Harrison's [election]

[1] Text derived from a copy kept by General Green and lent to the editor by Mr. R. P. Maynard.

the asperity of the present canvas will be gone and you will have recovered even with many of the Whig party your popularity. For you the election of Harrison opens the brightest prospects you have ever had. If the SubTreasury bill is not repealed, at the next session, Harrison will rejoice at your coming to his aid to sustain him by a prudent use of the Government Credit and you can rally strength in the present congress to keep things as they are. It will be difficult to repeal the bill and Harrison will have no desire to take up the bank question. He will prefer the use of the Gov^{t}. credit and you will find aid in quarters that you do not expect, if you put yourself at the head of that movement. As to the hard money movement that is at an end.

I have much better opportunities of judging of your position and true interest than any of those who give you other advice. It is useless to speak of the past. We must look to the future. I do not believe that VanBuren will recieve a single vote unless you are mad enough to give him the vote of South Carolina, but I cannot believe that you will commit suicide as this would be.

Your friend

DUFF GREEN

From J. H. Howard.[1] C. C.

Columbus Ga Octr 27th 41

MY DEAR SIR I recd your letter a few days ago and concur with you fully in the opinion that our candidate for the Presidency should be selected from the Southern wing of the Party, if we expect a full restoration of the Power of the constitution. I believe also that so soon as the subject is agitated, that it is indispensible to the success of our views that we should be upon the alert and present our claims in advance of any other; but I hope it may be in the Power of those who with you have the great interests of the country more at heart than the elevation of any particular individual to the chief magistracy to postpone for a time the *Public* consideration of

[1] Maj. J. H. Howard, of Columbus, was one of the most prominent supporters of Calhoun in Georgia.

this important question. Although I am fearful that your apprehensions are too well founded and that it may be difficult if not impracticable to prevent this matter from being pressed upon the country, yet if it can be avoided my judgement approves the postponement, not only because the peace and quiet of the country should be consulted by a relaxation from party excitement which the stability of the government demands, but that the Whigs, now beaten and on the retreat, may not be ready to rally by the accession of some of our disappointed corps whose defection might be developed the moment that they discovered by a nomination that their claims were likely to be overlooked. I fear also that the present incumbent *now* playing for, and somewhat expecting the support of the democracy, would change his policy and throw himself entirely into the arms of the opposition by which they would be enabled to establish their Bank and through its power and corruptions together with the aid of the spoilsmen of both parties greatly increase the difficulty of ejecting them from office. If our friends could abstain from the agitation of the question until we have a decisive majority in congress rendering us independent of the President upon the Subject of the Bank a selection might then be made without encountering so much danger; ours is rather a fickle people and though the indications show the popular voice to be now in our favor the defections occasioned by the disappointment of personal expectation added to the instability of our executive would greatly weaken our present flattering prospects; if however the consideration of this subject cannot be averted we have no alternative, we must move simultaneously at least, but in advance if possible of any other branch of democratic party and though we may fail of success, such movement will have the effect of rallying a strong and honest division of the party to keep in check those who though democrats themselves may yet not be regarded as thorough as ourselves. Now for the man. The claims of the present incumbent even if he should henceforth act with us which cannot be anticipated from his previous unsettled and ever varying policy, cannot be recognized for a moment; he has no qualification in my estimation which considered with the utmost liberality can recommend him to the favora-

ble consideration of a sound politician. There need be no apprehension that in any event any respectable number or section of the democratic party will divide from us in his favor, but still it is necessary to insure our final aid, that we (the democratic) should so deport ourselves towards him as to prevent his reunion with the whigs. When we become independent of his action by our majority which we anticipate at the next election, we may let him know that he has nothing to expect from us. In relation to Mr Van Burens claims I have but a word to say. That he is my second choice and I think the second choice of the people of the South, and if we could not succeed in securing your nomination which we would prefer it would be better to risk his prospects before Johnson or Benton or any other expectant. I am persuaded that he will act with a proper regard for himself and friends by withholding his name unless there existed more unanimity in bringing him again forward than can be again expected. We should if possible conciliate him as he is not only entitled to our sympathy and friendship but he has much in his power and can if he will turn the scale in our favor. This brings me to the manner in which our movement should be made. I would prefer that we should have no convention for the purpose but that Mr Van Buren if he can be brought into our interest together with your friends in New York, should make it through the legislature in that State; in the event of a failure there, then in Pennsylvania or Virginia provided it can be effected in either of them. We could I think with ease bring you forward by Georgia and I hope with perfect satisfaction and great unanimity of the party. I shall know better what can be done next week, but your nomination would carry more influence if made by either of the States before mentioned. Georgia or Alabama either had better take the lead than that your own state should be the first to express her preference; You have my views in all candour with the assurance that I desire such direction given to the matter, as will ensure the success of our purpose, and if it be necessary to attain that end, that we should move earlier than I have thought prudent. Dont because I have expressed my opinion, be the less free in the expression of your judgment in relation to the best policy. I have communicated with but two per-

sons, who both concur with me. I shall take your letter to me to Millidgeville and show it to a *few* friends. I go tomorrow night. Since I have without reserve given you the result of my reflections fully and freely, I hope you will not allow any motives of delicacy on account of the position you occupy to prevent you from communicating as freely and as candidly, though you may differ with me upon every point. I therefore request of you to give me as candidly your opinion of the *time* when our action should commence the *manner* of that action and the *State* in which it should be made. You may do this without restraint as none but *fast friends* shall have access to your communication and none but men of great prudence.

I am &c J H HOWARD

From Wilson Lumpkin.[1] C. C.

Athens Gᵃ Nov. 15th 1841.

MY DEAR SIR I have just arrived at home from Milledgeville, and finding it entirely out of my power to visit you before your departure for Washington, I proceed to give you the prospect of the result of the late change in publick opinion in regard to publick men and measures.

I have been at Milledgeville 8 or 10 days, have had free and full intercourse with my political friends, (in and out of the Legislature) from every part of the State—and I flatter myself that a patriotic and prudent spirit pervades the ranks of the Democratic party, and that a wise use will be made of the power recently gained. . . .

From the present aspect of affairs, there would seem to be no grounds for the slightest apprehension, that any prominent Whig of the present day, could ever become a special favorite with the people of Georgia. Clay is now obnoxious to all. Tyler has the confidence of but few, and the only hope of the *spoils men*, is the differences which may hereafter probably arise in the Republican ranks—Especially upon the question of the succession of the Presidency at the end of the present term.

[1] See Calhoun's letter of December 26, 1841, in Part I, *supra*, and the footnote on Lumpkin.

This question has not yet been openly discussed in Georgia, yet it is deeply agitated in the publick mind, and therefore comes into conversational discussion in every private Circle amongst political friends.

After the most extensive intercourse with our friends, and taking into view every consideration, it is the opinion of Howard, Black, Cooper and the whole Circle of your most devoted friends (including myself) that the time has not yet arrived for a general and publick agitation of the Presidential question. It is thought that the events of the approaching Session of Congress will afford developments, and exhibit publick sentiment, so as to give the most appropriate direction, in connection with this great and important movement. It is here proper for me to state, that I am now convinced that the larger portion of the Republican Party in Georgia, who investigate such subjects, are disposed to concentrate on *you* as their rallying point for the next Presidency. Yet, it is due to candor and frankness for me to state, that many of our friends, from their associations, and relative positions, have been looking in other directions. Therefore, it requires some time and great prudence, to conduct a matter of so much delicacy and deep interest.

Your friends however, are now fully alive to this subject. They will see that no advantage shall be unduly taken to misdirect the publick mind, and should the time for a general and open movement arrive sooner than is now expected, they will not suffer themselves to be taken by surprize.

Col. Howard shewed me your letter to him. Your last to me, I have shewn to no one—but spoke of our correspondence, and suggested such of your views as I deemed to be proper to communicate to your friends—omitting every thing that I thought was best to remain with myself alone. In conversation I have used many of the ideas and views contained in your last letter, adopting them as my own, without naming you at all, and I am pleased to have it in my power to state to you, that your general views, both in regard to men and measures, coincide with the great body of the patriotic Republican party. We are tired of selecting men for high Office, *merely* as available candidates. We go for cor-

rect *principles* and ability to sustain our principles. Patriotism in preference to Partyism. We see the evils which always accompany *restorations.* We believe that half way measures, will never produce the reform which we desire. We are in favor of Radical, Constitutional reform. To do less we believe will accomplish no permanent good.

As we cant have personal interviews, it might be well to correspond as fully and freely as time will allow. I promise faithfully to perform my share of the Correspondence.

I will keep you advised of passing events here.

I am Truly Yr. friend &c

WILSON LUMPKIN

From Jno. A. Stuart. C. C.

Charleston Nov 19, 1841

DEAR SIR I have perhaps too long deferred answering your last letter, and to make sure that this reaches you I address it first to Columbia—to be forwarded if you are not there.

Mr. Rhett arrived a week after I received your letter and we had a full conversation with Col. Elmore,[1] who promised to write you but has been since so incessantly occupied with business that I find he has not done so. I also shewed your letter to some eight or ten others of our friends here, and have conversed very generally with the party here on the subject.

Mr. Rhett said he had a full conversation on the subject with you at Washington and has not since altered his views, and they are very much the same as those expressed by all your friends here.

All agree that we ought to rally for our principles upon some man who represents them fully, and that you are that man; and that when the proper time comes South Carolina will move for you *en masse.* There is no possibility of our being disappointed in this. No man of influence will dare resist the movement, for such man must have the intelligence to know that such resistance would crush him. But all agree

[1] Franklin H. Elmore. See his letter of November 2, 1842, *post.*

that for this State to move now in a nomination would be ruinous. It would be as bad as to effect as if the nomination came from yourself or your immediate family. For such is the relation in which abroad the State and yourself are regarded; and such in fact is the feeling of our State, a feeling which no local division or internal State quarrel can impair. From similar considerations a nomination by Alabama would be scarce less objectionable. Georgia would be better, and a nomination thence would be a cheering symptom that old wounds were healed, but even that is too close home. A nomination from Virginia would come with great effect, but from Ohio, Maine or New Hampshire, if made undoubtedly by the majority of the Republicans of such state would be better than from any *Southern* State. Perhaps from one of these remote points a nomination can scarcely come too soon. But I should regret to see it hurried anywhere. Certainly it would do harm if made before the close of the Session of Congress at hand. I count upon every day of that session strengthening your already strong position. Your very position is virtually the most imposing nomination, without the disadvantages of a *formal* nomination.

To you as the acknowledged leader of the Democratic party must redound the credit of each of its coming triumphs in Congress. The longer therefore we keep together those whom your nomination might alienate, the better for our cause. While they fight with us harmoniously they are in fact fighting for and under you. You will have the advantage of fighting as an assailant all the while; not thrown upon the defensive and your moral power weakened by your being regarded as an open and avowed aspirant to the presidency, not giving ground to be accused therefore of having personal objects, and uncommitted to the defence of Mr Tyler and his party who will yet be compelled by the necessities of their weakness to work for us, and to come under our banner not to be leaders, but as fugitives seeking protection. Delay then must strengthen you, and I believe the close of the session will find you the acknowledged candidate of the Democrats in Congress, and a few months after of the party in general. I would not hazard retarding the progress of our cause, by too soon defying the sectional and personal jealousies which even

under the most favorable circumstances we must prepare to encounter. Let us keep them out of the field until our division of the party is so strong as to compel those who would avail themselves of such jealousies to be quiet for their own sake. When it is felt that the entire South almost is united upon *you*, as I anticipate it will be, and that every day is strengthening you at the North (as I am told by several intelligent men recently from the North) Democratic aspirants in that quarter will be cowed, and rally upon us. My wish may be father to the thought but I *do* think that we shall carry the party.

As to Mr Tyler, there is no danger of his drawing off any of the Democrats, and those but a very few of the spoilsmen. In his timid subserviency to his Whig *friends* he has diminished his patronage fund, and as to taking him up on principle, he has not the respect or confidence of anybody in our ranks. I consider him out of the question. A man so evidently in the market, with principles for sale, can never rally a great party, or one even respectable. He will find this out in three months.

Mr Van Buren is more formidable. The triumph of the principles for which he suffered has given him a high place in the regard of the party; but he must see that another term could hardly add to his laurels, and might tarnish them,—that to be reelected[1] by acclamation would be a proud thing, but a mere reelection[1] not worth his risking a defeat for. His being coldly received now will discourage him: and a strong opposition from our side of the House drive him from the field. He will not risk a defeat. This being brought forward early will weaken him. It will be attributed to mere love of place, or selfish pride, a fighting for himself, and not for the cause as the first consideration—for to the cause nothing essential depends on his reelection: he can do nothing in office which any other trusted man in the party could not as well do. He will nowhere then be supported with enthusiasm: and though I find the rank and file in Charleston well enough content to vote for him as a matter of pride and as against the Whigs, there are very few who would not drop him with indifference, to take up with ardour a man of our own. No

[1] Renomination is evidently meant.

harm then can come from his being now put forward. His friends in New York have put out feelers and made demonstrations which have been coldly met. An attempt to nominate him at a Philadelphia meeting, called for the avowed purpose, proved a failure, and the resolutions were indefinitely postponed. I think it a good sign too that while certain Democratic presses at the North discuss the claims of Buchanan, Com. Stewart, Benton &c. your name is studiously suppressed. It looks as if they feared to carry their light near the powder barrel. I observe also that in the last Democratic Review, an eloquent eulogy adressed to him closes with the remark that though the writer would be *satisfied* to have him again elected, he does not *wish* him to be run, "is not in *favor* of his being named as a candidate."

On the whole then, let us prepare and wait. Let your friends in Congress this session concert movements in their respective States, and appoint the how and when of the movement. Your nomination by this State is stereotyped, and she need not move now. It would be fatal. It would at once be said "This is all that South Carolina and her Senator were aiming at all the time." The part of this State will be to return thanks to other States on your account, not to ask favors. No danger I think of her not striking when the iron is hot: but it would work great mischief to give a single stroke from any quarter before. I anticipate the time but a few months distant when the real State Rights party of the Union shall call upon you to lead them in such force as will ensure I trust the success of their candidate, and if not that at least the placing of our principles on such high ground as to compel the respect of the government.

I have, as you requested, written freely, and I fear you will find little in what I have written to repay you the trouble of reading this. The sum of the opinion I have given perhaps would have been better presented had I only said, that I concur with you in thinking that in the approaching Presidential election, we must fight for our principles with a candidate from our wing of the party, that I take it to be out of the question that any other than yourself should be that candidate, that every day strengthens you, that delay is not half as dangerous as haste must prove.

I think also that the rejection of our portion of the Distribution[1] will strengthen you, and that under the present aspect of affairs our State legislature should not be at all belligerent in its demonstrations. Our principles are in the ascendant through the Union. We expect to command in Congress, and it is better not to give either Whigs, or unfriendly and jealous Democrats occasion to scout at us for any seeming ultraism. We are known to be good Nullifiers without our always rattling our arms. We don't want muskets now, when the ballot box is about making the cartouche-box superfluous I trust.

Very respectfully Yrs

JNO A. STUART.

P. S. The Democrats have as a party so thoroughly committed themselves against a Tariff that to fight on that ground would kill off any Northern Democrat. Mr Buchanan then is out of the question, and Mr Van Buren must profess our principles in all their force, which will weaken him there with the Whigs, while those very principles will bring to you Whigs here, who never would take him up. Benton will withdraw Van Buren I think when he finds him coldly received.

The Democrats in general seem unwilling to commit themselves now, and the Whigs are afraid. The Fabian is our true policy this time also.

P. P. S. Your presence in Columbia will do good.

From Thomas Ritchie.[2] C. C.

Richmond Nov 24, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR. I owe you many apologies for not having sooner acknowledged the receipt of your Letter, but I have been very much engaged; and you had so accurately defined the position of parties and anticipated the course of events, that I thought it less necessary to give you my own opinions.

[1] I. e., of the surplus revenues of the United States.

[2] Thomas Ritchie (1778-1855), the famous editor of the Richmond Enquirer (1804-1845) and of the Washington Union (1845-1849).

The whirl[w]ind has indeed come since you wrote, and the results of all the Fall Elections have cowed the spirits of the Whigs. Their ranks are thrown into great confusion—and but for their majorities in both Houses of Congress, we might consider their great mongrel party as almost entirely prostrated. So long however, as they remain in possession of those two strongholds, we must regard the battle as only half won. We must look to the State Legislatures as the Citadels of the public liberty, as they were in 98 and 99, and from their efforts we must expect to counteract and arrest the encroachments of the Federal Whigs in Congress.

I can only undertake to express my own opinion in relation to the action of *our own Legislature*, for, I am yet unable to estimate the bearings of its members. But I hope, they will pass resolutions of instruction *against* a National Bank, and *for* the Repeal of the Distribution Act. Whether they will succeed is of course doubtful. The latter more so than the former, because the Distribution law addresses itself to so many *interests* of so many *sections* of the State, that it is difficult to estimate the extent of its seduction. The Friends of Education, of the South Western Road, of the James and Kanawha Improvement, of the last link in the central rail-road (from Fredericksburg to the Potomac) and others too tedious to enumerate, "will respectfully press their claims and pounce upon the Fund." How far the public spirit of our Democratic members will be able to resist the interests of their Sections, it is impossible for me to say. The Education Convention which is to meet in this City on the 2nd Thursday of Decr may witness the first shock, but perhaps it may be put aside by the substitution of some other scheme (upon the model of N York and N England) for raising the necessary funds to improve our Elementary Schools. But it will not be so easy to lull the friends of Internal Improvement. Our State Treasury has not a spare Sous in it, and the example of our Sister States warn us against a further augmentation of our State Debt. Our wisest course will be never to borrow, at least for the States, unless we lay a tax to raise the means of paying the Interest on the debt. This was Mr Jefferson's maxim, and we understand it is the course which our Acting Governor (Rutherford) is determined to chalk out in his

Annual Message. . He, like all our distinguished Democrats, is opposed to the principle of the Distribution, and I should not be surprised, if in passing he gave it a little touch with that discretion, yet moderation which mark the man.

Your majority in the Legislature of S Carolina is stronger than ours in Virginia, and I hope they will not fail to take a decided part, and spurn the Distributable Fund from their lips. I look for a similar result from N York, for our friends have gone in *there* upon the high pressure principle, and we may expect from so large a majority a strong and towering tone.

Have we not sore reasons to fear from the flood tide of success, which has recently poured in upon us, a new danger? It is so difficult to *bear* Prosperity, so much easier to withstand Adversity, both in private life and public affairs, that we ought to practise upon the lessons which Experience sounds in our ears. We must use great wisdom and moderation, in the course of the next Session. We must avoid all excesses, either in measures, or in the conduct of men. We must adhere, in the first place, to our *principles*, upon which I agree with you most cordially, that every thing essentially depends. We must in the next place, keep our party united together, and fight as gallantly and as unitedly against a flying enemy, as we have done against his embattled legions. We must, in the third place, shun all causes of dissension, all clashings of private interest, all the struggles of aspiring ambition. The man who tries to think as little of himself as possible in these times (like Silas Wright) is in the best condition for serving his country, and ultimately of receiving the reward of his disinterestedness.

We do not yet exactly know what Mr Tyler proposes to do. I saw him on his late visit to this City. He looks well, is improved both in his dress and address, but I had no opportunity of opening up, as I wished, the high matter of the Fiscal Agency. We began upon it, but were soon interrupted by other visitors. I doubt much whether he had concocted any plan of his own, and I learn, that at Norfolk Mr Tazewell tried his wonted power of Analysis upon several projects, with which Mr Tyler had come to Virginia. His pockets filled with them like the Abbé Seiyes pigeon holes. But my

impression is, that he will prepare treasury notes in some form, and if he does, I trust he will invest them not only with the function of *receiveibility* for the public dues, but of immediate *convertibility* into specie at a few specified points. All however is clouds and darkness over Capt Tyler's fiscal plans. In *feeling* he is evidently more with us, than with the Clay Whigs, and also I believe in *principles*. But he has *now* (whilst his friends in Congress are *not* near him) some intriguing and adroit advisers around him, and I will not answer for the influences which they will put in play upon him.

Yours truly,

THOMAS RITCHIE.

From Duff Green.[1]

Paris 24th January 1842

MY DEAR SIR When I last wrote to you, I had not seen Mr. Stevenson's correspondence with the British Government[2] nor the reports from the heads of the departments at Washington. I have since I came here satisfied myself that under the pressure of the public debt, England finds it impossible to maintain her commercial and manufacturing superiority, because she cannot raise cotton, sugar &c as cheap in India as it can be raised in the United States, Cuba and Brazil, and that her war on slavery and the slave trade is intended to increase the cost of producing the raw material in the United States, Brazil and Cuba, that she can sell to other rival manufacturing, continental powers, the product of her East India possessions cheaper than they can purchase from us. If she can do this, having the power to compel her East India subjects to purchase her manufactures and her's alone, she can—through her manufactures—command the supply of raw material and thus compel rival manufacturing nations to pay her tribute while she in a great measure controls the manufacture itself. This is part of her policy. Do we not see one fourth of her Iron manufactures now idle? and why?

Imp

[1] Text derived from a copy kept by General Green and lent to the editor by Mr. R. P. Maynard.

[2] Presumably the correspondence of Andrew Stevenson, U. S. minister in London, with Lords Palmerston and Aberdeen, concerning foreign duties on American rice. House Document 2, Twenty-seventh Congress, second session.

because she says the supply exceeds the demand, and do you not believe, that if it comes to a question of whether her spinning jennies or those of Continental Europe or of the United States shall stand idle, she will hesitate as to which is to be employed? or that having the command of the raw material she will fail as to means to accomplish her purpose.

Under this aspect of the case you will find that England has much more than a work of benevolence in the suppression of the slave trade.

She has the alternative of repealing her own corn-laws and abolishing her protective duties—or of enforcing her present colonial policy by stratagem or war.

If she goes to war there will be great danger—that it will end in the emancipation of her colonies—and that this will be followed by the abolition of her national debt and protective duties, if it does not end in the reorganisation of society, the entire prostration of the present Aristocracy and a modification of the present prerogatives of the Crown.

Under these aspects of the case I am satisfied that our only hope of peace rests in being well prepared for war, and that the first measure is such an organisation of the financial condition of the Treasury as that we can use the credit of the Government at home. We have nothing to expect from Europe, at least for some time to come.—I was introduced to Baron Rothschild by Gen[l]. Cass[1] at a diplomatic dinner and speaking of the question which now absorbs all circles, the probability of war between England and America, he said to me, "But how can you go to war? you can get no money. I received a letter to-day from my correspondent in London inquiring to know, whether the United States could borrow money on the Continent and my reply was not a dollar." He proceeded to say to me "You may tell your government, that you have seen the man who is at the head of the finances of Europe and that he has told you—that they cannot borrow a dollar, not a dollar."

I then explained to him that there had been a systematic effort on the part of England to depreciate the credit of the United States—that her purpose was to compel those conti-

[1] U. S. minister to France, 1836-1842.

nental powers of Europe, as well as the United States, who are engaged in rival manufactures, to depend on her East India Colonies for the raw material; and therefore the war with us would be a war on the manufacturing states of Europe, that we had within ourselves all the elements of war, that we had six hundred steamboats on a single river, and that so far from having anything to fear from England, we did not fear to go to war with England with Europe at her back, but that Europe would have a common interest with us, that by the use of Exchequer bills, convertable into six per cents we could command men, ships and munitions of war, he said, "yes you may get men and ships, but such is the character of your state debts, that the United States cannot borrow a single dollar in Europe"—this was before dinner. After the dinner was over, he came to me and urged me to come and see him and converse with him on this subject. He said, "You may be able to go to war, but you must get the means at home."

Imp

After he went away Genl. Cass remarked, that he had had a long conversation with me and was impressed with its importance. I have not yet gone to see him, but I purpose to prepare for the "Review des deux-mondes" the leading European Review, an article in which I will demonstrate the purposes of England so plain, that I am confident that there will be a powerful reaction in our favor.

Do you not see that this is a war upon the commerce and manufactures of New England, through our domestic institutions and that this is the time to unite all parties and all sections in their support? If England be defeated in the present movement, she has no alternative but to fall back on free trade; there is a strong party in England who are in favor of free trade—and thus the manufacturing continental states will unite with the south in a common support of your long cherished measure of free trade. But permit me to urge on you that altho' I believe this can be accomplished without war, the only means of doing it, is to be prepared for war; and that under this aspect of the case, I feel a deep anxiety to learn, that you are acting in concert with the administration on the measure of finance.

I consider this the most important crisis of your active and eventful life. When I remember the many times you again and again explained to me that the great end of your labours was to establish for the United States a free trade; and reflect—that it is, as I verrily believe it is—now in your power, by uniting with the President and those of your own personal friends, who are in his cabinet and united with him, in perfecting the Exchequer bill—to accomplish not only free trade for the United States but for the greater part of the civilized world, I can not permit myself to believe that you will not tender your advice and cooperation, and believing that by your advice and cooperation the measure can be made efficient, I can not permit myself to fear its failure. . . .

From James K. Polk.[1] C. C.

Columbia Tenn. Feby. 23d. 1842

DEAR SIR I have received under your frank, your late speech on the Treasury Note Bill for which I thank you. You have truly stated the question at issue to be that we must increase the duties or curtail expenditures, and have abundantly demonstrated that the latter is not only the true policy, but that it is practicable without injury to any branch of the public service. I have but little hope however that the ruling majority in Congress will adopt it. The increased and increasing expenditures, the loan and distribution acts of the Extra Session, left no doubt in my mind that their ultimate object was another protective tariff. The estimated expenditures of *thirty-two millions* for the present year, the further loan—at your present Session—and the direct movements in the House upon the subject of the tariff, plainly show that such is their object. I hope you may be able successfully to resist these ruinous measures until another Congress can be chosen. That the next Congress will change and reverse the policy of the majority in the present Congress I do not entertain a doubt. The great revolution in public opinion, which has already taken place and is still going on, gives the most absolute

[1] James K. Polk (1795-1849) had been for fourteen years a member of the House of Representatives, and for four years its speaker. He was now in private life.

assurance that the next Congress will curtail expenditures and in this respect bring the Government back to the policy for which you are contending. Of the public opinion in this State I can speak with certainty. The systems of measures adopted by the party in power, at the Extra Session and followed up at the present Session of Congress, is decidedly odious—not only to the Democratic party but to a large portion of the Whigs. The people of this State are by a very decided and large majority opposed to a tariff of protection, to the distribution act which they regard as a tariff measure, to a funded debt or a debt in any other form, and to the present expenditures, which they regard as unnecessarily large; whilst the *Bankrupt or rather insolvent law* is openly denounced by the body of all parties, not having a single advocate, except those who expect to take advantage of it to be freed from their debts, and a few reckless political leaders. At our last elections in August, these obnoxious measures had not been sufficiently developed to be known, and the people acted in view of the liberal promises of *relief and reform* which had been made to them. They are disappointed and dissatisfied. They now find that they have been deceived, and only await another opportunity to speak at the polls, to vindicate and maintain their true principles. If the President remains firm upon the Bank question, and I cannot doubt but that he will, the mischievous effects of the other measures of the party in power can be readily corrected hereafter.

There is a matter of local interest now before the Senate, about which I feel some solicitude, and to which I beg to call your attention. It is the confirmation of the nomination of M^r. *Claiborne* as Marshall of Middle Tennessee. He is an honest man and one of high intelligence. He was a Representive in Congress in 1816–7, and is probably known to you personally. From a reverse of fortune he is now in a situation to need the emoluments of the office. The rumor here is, that his nomination will be opposed in the Senate on party grounds. There can be no other possible objection to him. May I ask your attention to his case.

I am Very Respectfully your ob^t sev^t

JAMES K. POLK

From Duff Green. C. C.

London Augt 2nd. 1842

My Dear Sir I have been a close observer of events here and have had access to the most accurate sources of intelligence. There are a few facts which deserve your most serious consideration.

The Whigs went out of power and Sir Robert Peel came in on two propositions—the first to admit slave grown sugar in competition with British Colonial sugar, and the other a fixed duty on corn. Sir Robert Peel in the debate on the sugar duties last year avowed that the purpose of this Government is to promote the abolition of slavery in Brazil, Cuba and the U. States and Lord Brougham openly advocated his bill forbidding British Subjects to purchase slaves on the ground that England having abolished slavery, and thereby raised the price of labor in her colonies was bound as an act of justice to her Colonial subjects to abolish slavery elsewhere.

The Abolitionists of Texas have deputed a M^{r}. Andrews[1] as an agent, with a proposition to this Government for a loan to be applied to the purchase and emancipation of the slaves of Texas and Lord Aberdeen told M^{r}. Smith[2] the Texian Chargé that the British Gov^{t} deem it so important to prevent the annexation of Texas to the United States that they were disposed to support the loan if it should be required to prevent annexation.

It is now understood that the Queen is willing to reinstate the Whigs whenever Lord Melbourne says to her that Lord John Russell can organise a Government that can retain power and such a Government is in the progress of organisation. Lord Melbourne to occupy the same relation to the new Government that the Duke of Wellington now does to Sir Robert Peel's and his brother to be Sec. for foreign affairs. Lord John Russell to be premier. C. Wood (Lord Grey's soninlaw) President of the Board of Trade, Mr F. Baring Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In this state of things Sir Robert Peel is disposed to fold his arms and let events take their course; Becoming satisfied that

[1] Stephen Pearl Andrews, noted as an abolitionist agitator and as one of the founders of modern phonography.

[2] Dr. Ashbel Smith. See his note of July 31, 1843, *post*.

he will not now do what he was anxious to do last year I resolved if I could to make his American policy one of the points on which the new Ministers are to come in. I therefore obtained an introduction to Lord John Russell and had a full conversation on American Affairs and told him that I wished him to [make] up an issue with Ministers. He promised me to do so—and you will see in the Times which I will endeavor to send you, that he is the only speaker, on the side of the opposition, who touched on the subject of America in the debate on the state of the Nation.

I explained to Lord John Russell and to several who are to be his associates in the new ministry the relation of parties in the United States and the bearing which the slave question has on our policy. I am assured by them that during the recess of Parliament they will assail Ministers on their American policy and that upon coming into power they will go for free trade with America and an immediate adjustment of the oregon Question, for the admission of slave grown produce, and non-interference in the domestic policy of other nations—that they will denounce the attempt to emancipate the slaves of Cuba, Brazil, the U States and Texas as an illegal and unwise interference. The most pregnant sign of the Times however is that the stock exchange are beginning to speculate for a fall in the price of Consols and hence any man who has Consols can now get an advance upon them at short dates without interest.

The present ministers are sustained by the land holders, the established Church and the fund holders. A formidable Combination you will say—but it is a combination so sensitive to their own peculiar interests that they are ready to sacrifice any Government that endangers them. The Whigs understand this, and their measures are taken accordingly.

I remember to have heard you say that England will be compelled to establish free trade or to renew her system of plunder, and I find that a class of political economists connected with funds are beginning to say that the true policy of England is to get up a general war. That the Continent and America have become her rivals in commerce and manufactures and that having the command of the Ocean, she can protect her manufactures and monopolise the commerce of

the World, and that a war in Europe would destroy the manufactures of the Continent. Do not these facts present a most serious question to you. What are you to do? Are you like Sir Robert Peel, to fold your arms and let events take their Course? Are you to say that because the people have not given you the first office you will not give your influence where it might Contribute to Control events? If while you fold your arms and look on, Van Buren is elected and Benton comes into the State Department, how easy will it be for him to provoke a war on the Oregon question? Do you not see cause for apprehension in the late proceedings in Maine and New Hampshire favorable to Van Buren and the position which the Oregon question is assuming in the West? I see that your friends are pledging themselves to support the nominee of the National Convention and [it] is now rendered almost certain that Van Buren will be that nominee unless all other interests combine against him. Instead of this, Johnson will compromise at any time for the Vice Presidency, and all the other candidates, I fear, will endeavor to weaken you under a belief that your friends will prefer any of them to Van Buren. Things will run on this direction until you are all handed over to Van Buren as so much political Capital in the hands of Col. Benton; unless you are wise in time. I have studied your position and I never was more fully satisfied as to what it is your duty to do. I am fearful that you are not yet prepared to see or to hear the truth as it is. I fear that it is the same case with the President. Permit me however to say that great efforts are making to seperate you and Mr Tyler, that you are embarked in a common cause and should stand by each other. United you may yet control events. divided you become a prey to your common enemy and sacrifice the great cause for which you have so long labored and with it the best interests of your Country. I will be prepared in a few days to write to you more fully. In the meantime let me entreat you to ponder well over what I now say. What you have most to apprehend both as it relates to yourself and the country is that Van Buren will be elected President and Benton be Secretary of State. If we are to have Van Buren the responsibility will rest on you, and you owe it to yourself, to your friends, to your Country and the

world to counteract as far as possible the evil consequences to be apprehended from his election.

I will endeavor to write to you more fully by the next steamer. If I do not and find things when I return right at Washington I may on my return come to see you. Please to write to me care of Mr Upshur.[1]

Your sincere friend

DUFF GREEN

P S. It is now understood that OConnor's[2] next movement will be to compel the great landlords to sell the land to the tenants by a combination to prevent the payment of rents—by an understanding that there shall be no bidders on a distress for rent.

From James H. Hammond. C. C.

Silver Bluff 10 Sept. 1842.

MY DEAR SIR. There has probably been some miscarriage of letters between us. The last I received from you was in January or February last and I answered it soon after. I should have been very glad often to have heard from you during the exciting scenes of the late Session—but did not like to interrupt you. It is difficult to understand what is intended by public measures now-a-days without a Key, and the papers, and letter writers from Washington are so full of plots and counter plots that it is impossible to form any reliable opinion from such sources. One thing however seems to me clear from all that is said and I rejoice at it. Your Star is evidently in ascendant and rising steadily. Buchanan whom I once thought formidable has shrunk into very meagre dimension, and I think there is reason to infer that Mr Van Buren's tour of inspection has satified him that his race is run. He was in Columbia, I did not call on him in Charleston—but coming right to my place of residence I thought it would not appear courteous to avoid him and so I gave him a dinner. He was as full of talk as a horse jockey and quite interesting. It was evident to me that he was still aspiring. But young people cannot be made enthusiastic in favour of a beaten horse and old ones

[1] Abel P. Upshur, at this time Secretary of the Navy in Tyler's Cabinet, later Secretary of State.

[2] O'Connell.

will not risk much on him. I think he must go down and with him I hope the whole clique of political hucksters—Benton, Wright, Johnson &c. The only earthly chance for him will be a packed Democratic Convention of old hacks. This must be seen to. They should be young men. I can't understand the vote of his friends on the Tariff. Could they expect to gain anything or was it necessary to sustain themselves or was it simply an act of desperation and malice towards the South and you? It is remarkable that this identical set should twice at two great eras fix the plunder-system upon us by precisely the same treachery. I thought better of Wright. I suppose we must now give him up for Woodbury. It is rumoured that Benton has declared if the issue is between you and Clay he will support Clay. So I heard in Augusta the other day. And was rather glad to hear it, for it was a proof of your strength and an open declaration of that malice which I knew to be untiringly though secretly moving against you. He would find himself very weak in such a move. I doubt if Missouri even would go with him. Would [ ]? I think such a thing would effectually remove all fear of our ever being degraded by his accession as it would Kill [him] off forever. I am inclined to think they will try to make a rally on Johnson. I found him very strong in N. York two years ago. Stronger I thought than Van Buren. But the Southern Democrats hold the power in the party now and he cannot get their support. Harrison to be sure was not much better, but there cannot be such another excitement gotten up. It would be indispensably necessary to carry such a mass of stupidity, vulgarity and immorality as Johnson into the Chair. On the whole it seems to me the Democratic Party can have no alternative but to nominate you. I am so certain of it that were I an aspirant for Federal Honors I should lay all my plans accordingly. I recommended Crawford and some Georgia Whigs to do so the other day. There is as you know some soreness in Georgia among individuals of both sides, but young men are coming up who know nothing of Wm H. Crawford and I have no doubt of the Geo. vote. There is some little talk of Cass there and Tyler, and I heard of one man being for Johnson, but all will be right in the end.

The question is often asked what is to be done with the new Tariff? Nullify it? I should be glad to have your views on

this point, and I will candidly state my own. Nullification is the *extreme remedy*. We should first exhaust every other. The prospect of the entire ascendancy of the Democratic Party and of your Election is so good that we ought to look to these means first before we resort to harsh measures. I cannot but think the Tariff will be repealed, for if neither of these two apparently certain events happen, I have little doubt that smuggling will render it wholly inefficacious. No earthly power can keep out or scarcely interrupt smuggling in such an extensive country as ours. The Chief reliance against it must be to make it unprofitable by low duties. The virtue of our people is another, but I fear there has been a great change in this respect on our Coast and frontiers in the last 10 years. There is one other objection to nullifiation at this moment. I verily believe that under the present weak and distracted administration it would cause the utter overthrow of the Government. Our just resistance would be followed by unjust and unconstitutional rebellion every where and this Administration could not rally a force I fear to sustain even just and Constitutional Laws. I should like very much to have your views on this topic and political matters generally. Should I be called to the Executive Chair in December, to which I can hear of no serious or rather no formidable opposition, it would be very important to me to have full possession of the views of the party to which I belong and particularly of yours on all public matters. The Governor's position may become one of interest and importance in the progress of Affairs and I desire to make it as useful as possible in advancing the Great Cause for which we have been so long contending. . . .

Very truly and sincerely yours

J. H. HAMMOND

From R. B. Rhett.[1] C. C.

Oct. 13, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR I wrote to you a week or two ago immediately after my return from N. Y. Every day brings me evi-

[1] Robert Barnwell Rhett (1800-1876) was a member of Congress from South Carolina from 1837 to 1849, and a Senator from 1851 to 1852. He had always an important place among the extreme advocates of state rights and secession, and was a member of the Confederate Congress.

dences of the rising of our cause. At Tammany on Thursday week I am told, by an intelligent friend who was present, there was no mistaking the temper of the People. At the mention of your name, the applause was immense; and I am assured, that so soon as the election of the Committees comes on we will have entire possession of Tammany. From other sources I am also advised, that the same course of things is rapidly extending throughout the whole interior of N. Y. Beardsley, a former Member of Congress, is out for you in Utica. In Pennsylvania according to the opinion of a Senator in the Legislature of that State, who called upon me, V. B. is out of the question. Woodberry [Woodbury] and his friends are moving with great effect in N. England for us. At the late Democratic Convention held in Boston it was proposed to nominate V. B. but it was soon ascertained that the majority were for you, and the attempt was not made. The late Brittish regulations, by w^h^ our grain is admitted into Canada, and consequently into Great Brittain, at a duty of three Shillings a quarter, will I think in two years bring Pennsylvania with us. We will carry the South and divide the North West. On the whole, our prospects are bright and growing brighter; and judging from the past, we have only to keep matters as they are, and we must control the next presidential election.

With respect to your intimation of a change of opinion, from the advices of some of your friends out of public life, as to the policy of your returning to the Senate next winter, I at first determined to say nothing. From what has passed between us, I felt that I may subject myself to a misconstruction of motives in expressing to you, the opinions I entertained with respect to it. From subsequent reflection, however, I have determined to speak frankly to you, and trust to your knowledge of me, for a just appreciation of my motives. Neither you nor I are alone interested in your political fortunes. The interests of the whole Country, and especially those of the Section to which we belong, are too deeply implicated to allow mere personal considerations or consequences to hinder or control my own act.

I understand, you have made up your mind (very properly, I think), not to serve in the Senate beyond the present Con-

gress. The question then is as to the three months service of the next winter. When at the Close of the last Session you expressed to me your intention not to return to the Senate, you know I dissuaded you from it, and begged you to suspend your determination, and consult further your friends in Congress. At that time, I saw no questions likely to arise, which would injure your position with respect to the Presidency, from the duties of a Senator. But from devellopments afterwards made, my mind is changed, and I am now satisfied that it is your unquestionable policy and duty to keep out of the Senate, at the approaching session. I know that the Whigs wish V. B. to be their opponent, and fear only you. Mr Clay has written here, that you will be the man the Whig party will have to oppose, and that the sagacity of the Democratic Party will not fail to perceive this. It will of course be the policy of the Whig, to sow dissensions amongst the Democratic Party, and especially to kill you off. Now what question, could more effectually accomplish this end, than that Mr Bayard gave notice he should bring up at the approaching Session—rescind the expunging Resolution. You heard I suppose the notice. You are aware of the Constitutional grounds, both you and Mr McDuffie took (Preston will not return to the Senate) on this question. Now can you meet it, and go along with the Democratic Party? To vote with the Whigs to rescind this resolution, expunging a censure on Genl Jackson, will be restoring the censure. The Whigs controlling the majority will of course, so put it, as to put you in the worst position. A vote with them on this question will revive all the old feuds which are now nearly smothered, and will set the Whigs and V. B. Democrats into a state of ecstasy. Your prospects for the Presidency will utterly expire under the question. The Whigs will press it, if they are not imbeciles or fools, with such sure game for the slaughter, and every enemy will rejoice at the opportunity of degrading you personally, or ruining you politically. If you could consistently with truth and honour, go with the Democratic Party, on this question, your return to the Senate altho surrounded with difficulties, might do no irreparable injury. The Rhode Island question, which must arise from the intention lately announced in the

R. I. papers, to apply to Congress at the next session, for payment of the expenses of the Dorr insurrection we may overcome, especially if the Constitution soon to be voted on is adopted. This matter will be pressed, for the only chance for such a claim is in the present Congress. The Exchequer Bank also will give some trouble, for you know that a considerable portion of the Democratic Party, is in favour of Congress doing something. You can do nothing, and consequently must offend: but this may be got along with. On the matter of the expunge, however, you must not be against the Democratic Party, or you must surrender all hopes of the Presidency. On the other hand, unless you intend to remain in the Senate through the next Congress, I do not see what material benefit, in the present organization of the Senate, you can do to the Country, by a service next winter, whilst the risks are immense to your prospects for the Presidency, and all the great measures of policy involved in that Election. My mind is therefore clear, in the judgement, that it is unpolitic, and will probably be fatal, for you to expose yourself any farther in the Senate, to the cross fire of your enemies.

The private friends who have given you advice contrary to mine, may possess far greater powers, twice my ability on all general matters—but without disparaging them, or exalting myself, I think I may assert, that with one half their sagacity, I may be a far better judge of the effect of political questions, and the temper of the People of the Union. Your best Counsellors in my opinion will be those whose duties and position compel them to study public affairs, with the greatest intensity; and who must bear all the embarrassments and mortifications any false movement might produce.

My anxiety on this subject, has led me to seek the council of the only two members of Congress of the Democratic Party in Washington, favourable to your election—Mr. Walker of Mississippi and Genl. Dawson of Louisiana. Mr. Walker Day before yesterday brought Judge Woodruff of Louisiana, a warm friend of yours, to see me. I found him, with a large pile of your Speeches on the Tariff to post to his Constituents. He is decidedly opposed to V. B. and in favour of your Election. He expresses no doubt as to the impolicy of your returning to the Senate on various accounts, but he says un-

hesitatingly, that for you to go against the Democratic Party on the matter of the expunge, will be in his opinion immediate death to your prospects. Gen[l]. Dawson, (of whose steady and sincere friendship you are aware) was equally explicit and decided: and declared that on such a question, if you went with the Whigs, he would immediately abandon you, and take position against you.

And now my Dear Sir, I have done my duty to you personally and politically and to the Country, in thus explicitly expressing my opinion to you. Act how you may, I will strive to support you, and where I cannot commend, I will try not to blame.

M[rs]. Rhett joins me in cordial remembrance to M[r]. Clemson, M[rs]. Calhoun and Yourself, and believe me

Truly Yours

R. B. RHETT

From Joseph A. Scoville.[1] C. C.

NEW YORK 25. Oct. 1842.

DEAR SIR I wrote you a few days since a few lines in answer to your letter, and enclosed the latter to you. Such a proceeding doubtless surprized you very much, and I will explain my reasons more fully than I had time to do at *that* time. Eight months ago you might have written 20 letters a day to persons residing here and it would have excited no curiosity, but now the case is altered, and a letter from you creates excitement and alarm among the Van Buren men, and I am sure you will see the benefit that will accrue to our cause by avoiding any correspondence with the many who will write you from hence. There is a jealousy excited even among your friends; it does you no good and it makes enemies for the person receiving such a letter. Our post office officers are a corrupt sett. before I rec[d] your letter I was aware that there was a *free* letter here for me, postmarked Pendleton, and I should have lost all confidence of those who have been my immediate associates, Slamm[2], Hart, and Hunter, had I refused to read it

[1] Joseph A. Scoville (1811-1864) was a journalist in New York, and afterward private secretary to Calhoun.

[2] Levi D. Slamm, editor of the New Era.

to them, which I did, save such parts as related to Mr. A and Mr. H. I have always been in the habit of returning Mr. Wrights letters. Our nominations for members of the Legislature have been made. I was left off the ticket, but I do not feel very bad in consequence, for Chas P. Daly[1] and 4 or 5 other warm friends of yours *were* nominated, and Daly is a host in himself and can do your cause more good probably at Albany than I could have done. I saw him a day or two since—he says he will write you as soon as he is elected. Matters are going on well here. I shall now devote every hour of my time to the accomplishment of a matter of vital importance, and that is the control of Tammany Hall. I have no doubt of success. I am almost sure that your friends will be elected from a majority of the wards but it is hard work to make them act in concert, and it is only in this way that they can be efficient and hold the real power here. I do not understand Slamm of late. I can only account for his course by supposing that he has been obliged by the State of his Finances to go Van Buren.

I hear from Mr. Rhett almost daily. I wish with all my heart we had the control of Mr. Tylers appointments, but Mr. Rhett writes me that he thinks Tyler is working for his own nomination—he will be very much deceived in the Democratic party.

I was very much amused yesterday at the Exchange. The Sailors wages have been reduced about 20%—they have had in consequence a Strike for the wages of last Season, and the "turn out" consisted of about 600 men—at 4. oclock they arrived in Wall St. Col Hepburne addressed them from the Exchange, and when he closed they gave 9. rousing cheers for yourself. The Col made a very happy hit. As soon as possible I would advise your sending me the proposed life etc. I have seen the publishers, and they will wait very willingly. I will select some one here to edit it.

Yours very Respy &c

JOSEPH A. SCOVILLE

[P. S.] I have had several requests made me to become a member of the Free Trade Association (See their letter to

[1] The late President of the American Geographical Society, Chief Justice of the New York Court of Common Pleas, 1871-1886, d. 1899.

Candidates in yesterdays Post) and I shall probably accept and become a member. I dont like such associations, but in this case, as a majority of the members have been Whigs, and as a Free Trade man *must* be a Calhoun man, I shall join hoping to bring their strength into harmonious action with our Friends in active Tammany Communion. I do not know who are members, perhaps many of your friends that you may know. One thing rest assured of, you have friends here who will not rest until this City is as safe for you as Charleston, or any other of your So Carolina Cities.

And if we gain the organization of the Hall, *you will* have the State.

From Franklin H. Elmore.[1] C. C.

Charleston Nov. 2 1842

My Dear Sir I rec^d by Mr Clemson your letter of the 18th Oct. and to day that of the 29 by mail covering one to Hon R B Rhett. Mr Rhett has not yet reached here but is looked for [on] every boat. His Brother Alb Rhett is with me and has your letter to give his Brother as soon as he arrives—they will go from here to gether to Walterboro.

We had some time ago formed a Sort of Committee for Consultation as regards the Presidential election and I was put at the head of it. It consists of Messrs Furman, Jas J Rhett, Boyce, Connor, Gourdin and Trenholm. We had taken in several respects the same views you have suggested and been acting accordingly. Connor operates in No Carolina and Tennessee, Furman, (Cashier of the B^k of the State) is a nephew of Gov. McDonald of Georgia and we approach him in that way. I have been corresponding in Alabama with Gov. Fitzpatrick my Brother in Law and with Lewis and others. Since I rec^d yours of the 18 Oct. I have written to Fitzpatrick, Gov Yell of Arkansas and to Richardson to induce a denunciation of the Tariff in their messages and have procured an excellent letter from Mr Furman to Gov Mc Donald, in which [he] urges the Gov. as his sits first of the Southern

[1] Franklin H. Elmore (1799-1850), Member of Congress from 1836 to 1839 and president of the Bank of the State of South Carolina from 1839 to 1850, was one of Calhoun's principal political supporters. See O'Neall, Bench and Bar of South Carolina, II, 85.

Legislatures, to take the honor of a bold decided and manly lead on the subject. We have not heard from either yet, but I have the strongest hopes that such action may be induced as will by its union and vigor produce a most wholesome effect. In my letters to our friends I have endeavoured also to impress them with the importance of an early nomination in all the Southern States. Virginia is a most important point. As I returned from it &c in Sep I saw Judge John Y. Mason. He said he had no doubt a majority both of the party at large and of the members representing it in their Legislature were decidedly for you, but he thought it doubtful if any nomination would be had in the present state of things this winter—the main and almost only obstacle however was in Ritchie, who was wedded to Stevenson and had a hope of his being run with Mr V B if he could get the nomination. If that hope was killed he thought all portions of the Party in Va. could be brought to give their adhesion at once to your nomination. His opinions were confirmatory of what I had gathered from other sources; and it struck me that it was our true policy to bring all the Southern States in Solid Column to bear on Va. and thus to carry her as early as possible into line. If Georgia will lead off and Alabama, Mississipp, No Ca and So. Ca. follow, I do not see how Va. can resist. No hope will remain to Mr V B of a Southern support and without it he could not hope to succeed unless he looks for a Whig support. My opinion from what I saw and heard in N. York and have since learned, is that such a combined action from all these States would give your friends the ascendancy in a large part if not over the whole State. The Tariff is crushing N. Y. They say that Boston by her R Roads has concentrated the market for domestic goods there and by the Tariff cut off the foreign trade from N. York—thus giving her two stabs in the vitals—and that Mr V. B's friends have temporized and sacrificed them and are not to be relied on—they want a more unyielding leader and look to you to break down the System. With a good strong lead from the South, they would gladly fall in. Mr Sumter has just come in from N. Y. and tells me your prospects have improved very much since I came away. Of all the Democrats who voted for the Tariff *one alone*, a Mr Davis, has been

able to get a renomination. Floyd Gen[l]. Ward, John V Buren and the rest are laid aside and Free trade men in their places.

While on N. York, I will say a few things which may be important. There is a great desire there to know more of you—a short sketchy account of your life and services is much desired. Your speeches are inquired after, and most of all yourself. They wish to see and talk with you and hear you speak. These wishes cannot be resisted. They must all be gratified and as to the two former the earlier the better. As to the last I have my doubts if the proper time has yet come, but I am clear that it is coming and cannot be long delayed without injury to your cause.

M[r]. Sumter says you trust too much to M[r] J. A. Scoville of that City—that you wrote him some time ago a very long letter and that he showed it freely—that he is not a man of weight &c &c I saw a letter of Scoville. I thought him a keen shrewd man and quite up to N. Y. politics, but I did not know how far exactly to trust him or to estimate his strength, therefore all I can do is to warn you as I rec[d] the warning.

On the subject of the V. P'y. It seems to me that we cannot without disadvantage, make a nomination—but while we deal gently with Wright and Buchanan, we should as an act of common justice give M[r]. Woodbury the praise you claim for him. The last debate on the Tariff, the running discussion I refer to, was certainly a most interesting one and his course and remarks, manly and statesmanlike. M[r] Stuart has just returned to his post and will I think if he can get that debate, review it and render to M[r] Woodbury his due. He will not forget him at any rate.

I am very often asked if you intend to resign your seat this winter. M[r] Rhett told me at Washington that you had thought of it, but had been induced to withhold a final decision for a time. I presume it is your intention to return to Washington for the coming Session. I think you are right in doing so. Much will be done this winter of which you should be at once informed. Questions will come up on which your opinions will be inquired after and which you can best develope in your place. Your friends have not yet taken form and organization enough and the next Session ought not to pass without some arrangement of party and operations.

We may get into great confusion without some Central and common place of information from whence we may know what our friends are at and how each can act to the best advantage. But should you resign, as I take it you must if the nominations of any of the Legislatures put you in the field, when will it be best to do it? If you at once leave the Senate it may be said you have done so to avoid the issues which may be tendered on important questions. But if you resigned in consequence of these nominations, to take effect after the 4 March next, stating as a reason for remaining during the next Session, the pendency of these very questions, and your unwillingness to evade or to appear to evade the responsibility of fairly meeting them, that no exception could be taken to that course. By so doing one good effect would probably result at home, that is the election at this Session of two Senators in a more quiet way than would be likely to occur at a future time, when only one at a time w^d be chosen.

I will with great pleasure attend to any letters that may come from any of your friends at your instance and Mr Thurston of Maine will be duly answered if he favor me with any letters.

Mr Boyce is now in Alabama, and I desired him if possible to see Lewis and Fitzpatrick and to urge personally on them, the policy and importance of a nomination at an early day in Alabama. I also had a letter from M^r. B. Boykin of Mobile informing me that y^r friends had started a new paper there to advocate your election requesting my advice as to its course. To this I replied conformably to your views and those we hold here.

I have a Brother W^m. A Elmore, a young man of vigor and talent in N. Orleans who is disposed to enter warmly into this matter. He tells me you have no organ in La. but many very many warm friends. They have determined to start a paper and he writes to request me to find a suitable Editor. I had thought of Mr Clapp, Ju^r. of the Mercury, but as yet nothing is done. Who could you suggest? My Brother asks after Cralle. Can you tell me any thing of him?

I wish you would put my two Brothers J. A. Elmore of Montgomery Alabama and W^m. A. Elmore of N. O. on your

list for occasional notices. They are both your warm friends and have talents to be useful.

I have written in great haste and trust you will excuse the desultory manner in which I have treated these matters.

I am very truly Yours

F. H. ELMORE

From Fitzwilliam Byrdsall.[1] C. C.

New York Novr 6th 1842

DEAR SIR, Your amply satisfactory letter of the 20th ult. has been duly rec^d and I have taken such measures without departing from the rule you have adopted of not appearing in the public papers in cases of misrepresentation, that whenever you are again misrepresented as regards free suffrage, the democratic papers of this City will at once take up the gauntlet in your vindication.

The Editor of the Democratic Guide has promised to do you justice in his next publication. He has about 2,000 subscribers but his next number will not appear until the first of Jany because he is making it a quarterly instead of a monthly publication. He assures me that he will in the mean time, upon all occasions when you are spoken of in his presence, correct the misstatement he has made. This promise was made voluntarily.

I rejoice that you have put in my hands the proof which was wanted and which no man here can use with more advantage than myself. Your Vote in 1808 is an irresistible fact. It shews that you were at that period what "New Yorks favorite son" was *not* in 1821. It is a glorious democratic fact in your favor.

After I last wrote you, an article appeared in the Morning Post of this city from a "South Carolinian", vindicating the constitution of S° C^a from the property qualification clause, and you from having said that you thanked God it existed in your state.

I shall put in the P. O. with this, the n° of the Democratic

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[1] Fitzwilliam Byrdsall, author of a *History of the Loco-Foco or Equal Rights Party*, was prominent among the most literally democratic members of the Democratic party in New York City.

Guide containing the imputation against you. The article is towards the end, "Rumors, Rumors."

I send you also the morning Post of Saturday last containing two articles in relation to yourself. You will see that the "Free trade Association" founded by me is in progress. I have thought it best to make a mechanic the president and selected Mr Commerford for that station. We are *felt* politically already. Many of your friends have lately joined us—Hutton, Hart, Scovill, Thompson, Godwin, and many others. It is decidedly the most effective movement yet made in this city in favor of the constitutional principles of which you are the leading advocate. It is prognosticated by many that the Association will become a Free trade party.

I regret that my business compels me to be absent from this city three or four months. I shall be in Tuscaloosa Ala during Decr Jany Feby and March. But I calculate that after I return to the City, I shall go into the political Campaign in prospect, and devote myself exclusively to the service untill the close of the contest. The Very existence of democratic constitutional government is involved in the struggle and I cannot think of my private interest when there is a matter of such magnitude before my eyes. All humanity is interested in it, as well as the Millions of this land.

With greatest esteem Yours &c

F. Byrdsall

From Francis W. Pickens. C. C.

Edgewood, 8 Nov. 1842.

My dear Sir I recd yours last night, and deeply regret the intense excitement which you appear to feel. I have seen too much of public matters not to know what you are looking forward to. By all the ties of friendship and relationship I entreat you to reflect cooly and solemnly upon the steps you may take in the next year. It may be that Mr. V. B's success may be as fatal as you anticipate, but the great difficulty with us is to get any very large portion of the Republican party to believe it *at present.* We shall be compeled to wait developements that the country can see and understand. I agree with you as to the Tariff and its results, and if I know

my heart I would appeal to arms and the God of battles sooner than acquiesce permanently under its principles. But we must wait and try every reasonable remedy for a few years before we can get any large portion of the country to sustain the highest measures of redress. Besides it must be a series of measures shewing a fixed and certain policy in Government that will produce a general feeling in favor of the ultimate resort. If you make an open rupture from the great mass of the Republican party it will place you in a critical position at your period of life, and if it be done about the time that a Convention should nominate V. B. (if it should do so which I cannot believe yet) it will place you under such circumstances that the world will believe it was from disappointment &c, and thus weaken your power. However honest and patriotic your motives may be it will be hard to make mankind believe it. But let us acquiesce as long as possible, and when we do make a rupture let it be upon developements made and issues tendered such as the public can understand, and not by anticipation of consequences in advance which, however clear they may be cannot be made so to others who will be called on to sustain us. But I hope there will be no necessity for such a rupture as you indicate in yours. If you have the strength that I think you have, particularly in the Southern States, let these states move decidedly this Winter and place you forward upon the highest and strongest grounds. I have as far as I am concerned, written to that effect, and if Ala., Miss., Geo., N. Ca. and So. Ca. move with spirit and union I do sincerely think it will produce your nomination by the Convention. I hope so—but we must wait events. I am no flatterer particularly to a friend in whom I feel such deep interest as I do in you and your *fame*. Now suppose you make a rupture and throw yourself upon a seperate position, let us for a moment look at the circumstances with which you are surrounded. It will not be like it was in 1832 and 33. Then you were in the pride and glory of full manhood, and had as gallant and as glorious [a] band of friends devoted to you as ever man had. You had the abrupt and coarse tyranny of Jackson to contend with which gave you the sympathy of many brave men. But how is it now? You are at a different period of your life. Men who may rally under your

standard cannot look forward for you to bear it 10 years from now. Events have not yet occurred to rouse the public mind, except agst the Whigs and their measures. And where are your men—who are your friends? McDuffie (although honest) is broken down, and will be a splendid failure as soon as he gets into the Senate. Hayne is dead. . . . . Hunter is a pure and intellectual man, but has no action or influence in Va, Lewis is energetic and talented, but is carried off by an impulse and sees only one subject and one point at a time, and besides he is too fat to be very active. These are all talented and useful friends in their present position, but are they such and enough to carry you through a great change or rather a great issue at the present time of your life? If you say so and are determined on it I will go into battle and draw the sword by your side, but in my judgement it is not yet the time to strike. If it is so decreed (but I do not think so yet) let others come into power, and if they go wrong, as you say they will, then we can have as disinterested and as talented an opposition as ever went into battle—we will then stand before the country in such a position as to command a candid and patriotic bearing, and I will pledge my life and my all to the cause; and if we then fail to succeed in controlling and modifying the measures of Gov: we can look to the ultimate resort. I hope you will pardon the liberty I take in writing you thus freely. I am prompted to it by the deep interest I take in your happiness—your fame, and your power.

In the mean time I do hope that your friends will move in the Southern Legislatures this Winter, and when we get to Washington we can see the whole ground and know what is to be done. We must make Free Trade the basis of all concert in action of any kind. I am for driving all who are for a Tariff of protection out of our ranks entirely. The piece you sent me from the Argus was sent me in the paper itself and marked. I took the same view you did and enclosed it to Ritchie, and now intend to demand from him a denunciation of it as necessary to keep us together. I shall make it the basis of a letter to him.

Present me affectionately to Anna and Cousin Floride.

Yours very truly and sincerely

F. W. PICKENS.

From R. M. T. Hunter. C. C.

Loyds Essex V^a June 16th [1843].

My dear Sir I have just received letters from Woodbury and others in New England. I wrote to Woodbury before the meeting of the N Hampshire Convention to beg him to go to it and take an active part for you. I said that the nomination of V B by that convention would be considered as a fatal blow to him and whatever might be the professions of those who made the movement such would be their design. But for him the Convention would have nominated V B—as it was they made no nomination, and recommended May 1844 and a district representation. Under the circumstances this was a great victory. We shall carry the Democratic party of New England. Our friends are in high spirits. Col^o. Brodhead has sent $400 to the Spectator, the Charleston Committee $500, and D^r. Brodhead a poor clerk in Washington loaned it $350. For the present and for a short time it is out of danger.

Our friends in N England are about to organise. I am writing to our friends wherever I can rely upon them to beg them to get up an organisation by Congressional districts. If we have (as we shall have) a district representation this organisation is essential as a preliminary step and indeed through this organisation we can force a district representation. Suppose we were to invite an election of delegates by the party at the polls, assimilating the mode to that of the Congressional election, and that our strong men in each district would take the stump for you and rally the people to the polls. V Bs friends would be obliged to go in. He would certainly be beaten if he did not, he would probably be beaten if he did. I am doing my best to get up such an organisation and especially in V^a. We will beat down Ritchie's influence in that way if he resists us.

By the way Greenhow is about to establish a Calhoun paper in Petersburg. Ritchie has so many well wishers amongst our own friends that we thought it most prudent to avoid the odor of opposition to the Enquirer and to hang upon his flanks until he opened himself so as to justify an attack upon his

centre. If the paper is sustained it will ultimately move to Richmond unless Mr Ritchie should take a satisfactory course.

I had entertained some hopes of Young[1] at one time and had written three weeks ago to friends in New York to ascertain his true position. For reply I received a paper in which he publishes his préference to V B to silence there recent rumors. He is more of a N Y politician than V B himself and our friends in Poughkeepsie made a mistake in endeavouring to identify him with our cause. He is one of those enemy-friends of V B, who are the most subtle of all politicians and win both office and hate from him without being grateful for the former or caring a rush for the latter. Davis[2] (Jack Downing) is now making a tour in western N Y and promises to give me the result of his observations upon his return. But it is hard to make a lodgment in that state. The keys of office would be more potent there at present than those to St Peters gate. I wish we had Van Ness in the Custom House. But I hear nothing more of that for the present. I have a great many letters still to write.

Most truly Your friend

R M T HUNTER.

P. S I have just received your letter of 3d June for which I am much obliged to you. I have not time now to answer it but will write by the next mail.

From Ashbel Smith.[3] C. C.

The following is communicated to Mr. Calhoun, confidentially. Extract from a note of the Hon. Ashbel Smith, Chargé d'Affaires of Texas at London and Paris, to Hon. Anson Jones, Secretary of State of Texas, dated Legation of Texas, Paris, July 31st, 1843.

"Previously to leaving London, I had a long interview, on the 20th inst., with the Earl of Aberdeen, Sec'y for the

[1] Samuel Young, secretary of the State of New York.

[2] Charles Augustus Davis, who wrote some of the many imitations and continuations of the "Letters of Major Jack Downing."

[3] The paper from which this extract is given bears no signature, but is endorsed "Communicated by the Texan Ministers to Mr. Calhoun." Dr. Ashbel Smith (1805-1886), surgeon-general of the Republic of Texas, was at various times Texan minister to the United States, Great Britain, France, and Spain, and was Secretary of State under President Anson Jones in 1844 and 1845.

Foreign Department, concerning the affairs of Texas. I think it proper here to state that I had reason to be pleased with the full and frank manner in which his Lordship discussed the affairs in question. As a matter of course he treated the subject mainly and almost exclusively in reference to British policy and interests. Some time before this interview with Lord Aberdeen, Mr S. P. Andrews, whom I have mentioned in former despatches as being in London, on an abolition mission, requested me to present him to Mr Addington. After some reflection, I consented to do so—the introduction being in no degree official as I stated to Mr Addington, and as this course put me fairly in possession of the abolition schemes, which had already been presented to the British Government. On this occasion I expressed my utter dissent from and opposition to all operations then carrying on in London, having for their object the abolition of slavery in Texas. In my interview with Lord Aberdeen on the 20th inst., I stated that Mr Andrews' coming to London about abolition was his individual act, wholly unauthorised by the Government or citizens of Texas—that though there might be some individuals in our country disposed to abolish slavery, I had no reason to believe they were numerous; but on the contrary that I had reason to think no disposition to agitate the subject existed either on the part of the Government or any respectable portion of the citizens of Texas. I also stated to Lord Aberdeen that I was informed representations would be sent out to Texas, based on statements made by members of the Antislavery convention, who had called on his Lordship touching this matter, to the effect that Her Majesty's Government would afford in some way the means for reimbursing or compensating the slaveholders, provided slavery were abolished in our country. I enquired what grounds there was for these assertions. His Lordship replied in effect: That it is the well known policy and wish of the British Government to abolish slavery everywhere—that its abolition in Texas is deemed very desirable, and he spoke to the point at some little length, as connected with British policy and British interests and in reference to the United States. He added that there was no disposition on the part of the British Government to interfere improperly on this subject, and that they

would not give the Texian Gov^t cause to complain. He was not prepared to say whether the British Gov^t would consent hereafter to make such compensation to Texas as would enable the slave-holders to abolish slavery. The object is deemed so important, perhaps they might, though he would not say certainly.

"Lord Aberdeen also stated that despatches had been recently sent to Mr Doyle, the British Chargé d'Affaires at Mexico, instructing him to renew the tender of British mediation based on the abolition of Slavery in Texas and declaring that Abolition would be a *great moral triumph for Mexico.* Your Department will not fail to remark that this despatch to Mr Doyle appears to introduce a new and important condition into mediation.

"The British Gov^t greatly desire the abolition of slavery in Texas, as a part of their general policy in reference to their colonial and commercial interests, and mainly in reference to its future influence on slavery in the United States."

From Edward J. Black.[1] C. C.

Barnwell Dt. S. Carolina. Septr 1st 1843.

M DEAR SIR, I would have written to you frequently before this, but I knew that you must be almost overwhelmed with correspondents of all sorts and descriptions. Do not believe, however, that my silence is indicative of forgetfulness of yourself individually, or of your political interests. Far otherwise. After I returned from Washington I exerted myself to get as many of our friends from lower Georgia into the Convention as possible. I went, as a member, myself, and had the satisfaction to see our labours crowned with your nomination. The old cry of the triangular influence of Colquett, Cooper, and myself was raised by a few Van B. men with the hope of defeating you before that body. Judge Kennan, Mr. Hunter, of Crawford Co. and a few other leading men, but more especially Col. Cobb[2], of Clarks, one of our

[1] Edward J. Black (1806-1846), a native of South Carolina, was M.C. from Georgia from 1839 to 1841, and from 1842 to 1845.

[2] Howell Cobb, M.C. 1843 to 1853, Speaker 1849-1851, Secretary of the Treasury 1857-1860, Major-General C.S.A.

members elect to Congress made every effort to defeat you. For this opposition Cobb is mainly responsible, as he sustained and directed it. We laboured under some disadvantages in the Convention, neither Colquett or Cooper were members. Cooper was not present, and was a prominent candidate of a nomination for Govr, and Colquett did not arrive in Milledgeville until towards the last of our session. But notwithstanding these difficulties we turned out and measured our strength with these old Van B. advocates, and they soon found that your name, even if it had been turned loose in the Convention without a rider, would have run through, and distanced every competitor. I assure you all that we had to do was to fix things a little, and then to hold in our young men, who, if let alone would have been indiscreet in their ardour for you. After the nomination was made we succeeded, I think, in allaying the feelings of the great mass of our disappointed friends; and also succeeded in having the Geo. delegates to the Baltimore Convention specifically *instructed* as to their votes, and that too without an *alternative*, that is, to vote for you and for no one else. Now if Mr. Cobb, who is a delegate, will not obey these instructions he must resign, and his place will be filled by the remainder of the Delegation. I am very glad to see the Democracy succeeding in their elections, and I am also *glad to see that they are defeated in Tennessee.* Of course I do not speak this publicly, but where I may say it with safety I do say it. It is well in my opinion that Democracy is temporarily defeated, just at this time, in Tennessee. It is to be hoped that it will operate as a sort of quieting dose to Blair, and Ritchie. It will also serve to shew to the American people that there are other spokes in the Democratic wheel besides the "*Old Hero*". If you remember I got a letter from M^r. Boston, of Savannah, asking me to send the Globe to him *if it was not unfriendly to you.* I sent the letter to Blair and [Rives?], and they replied, in answer to Boston, at some length, and with much warmth, protesting their absolute neutrality until after a nomination. And privately to me they made the same professions, and Blair declared to me that he would not be guilty of forgetting *your* friends in the House who had helped him to the printing of the 26th Congress, in which I bore some part. But that

as he was the Central organ of the whole party he would support only the nominee of the Convention. How widely they have departed from their written promise to Boston, and their verbal promise to me. If it would result in no injury to our friends I would procure their letter to Mr. Boston, and publish it with an accompanying explanatory article. Their letter is very full and explicit, and indulges in some feeling because they were suspected of being averse to your election. How strangely their present position would contrast with that letter. I look forward with some satisfaction to the casting of my vote next Winter for Printer, and I hope we shall have some friends in the House who will know how to *reward merit.*

Will we have many aspirants for the Speakership? It is a most powerful and important office, and I, for one, am not disposed *to give it away.* Without meaning to say that a man would be justifiable to buy support with the patronage of office, I am yet quite sure that whenever I have it in my power I shall so cast my vote, or patronage, if I have it, as to sustain those who sustain the principles upon which alone we must expect to succeed.

I read your letter to Gale and Seaton,[1] and it is just such a letter as you should have written; it has and will increase the confidence of Thousands in you. Your friends in Georgia regard it with the utmost satisfaction. We are in great hope of beating Geo Crawford in Georgia, and if we succeed in keeping the Democracy together I think there can be no doubt of his signal defeat.

My dear Sir, I shall be at Washington this Winter, and if I can serve you there in any way I hope you will not hesitate to call on me for my services. I propose to take some part in the action of the House and party during our session, and would not only be happy to render you any aid in my power, but to receive such suggestions as to our course and movements as your ability and experience entitle and enable you to give. I do not mean to impose any unnecessary additional burden of correspondence on you, but to signify my desire to sustain my portion of the struggle that is before us.

[1] Letter to the editors of the National Intelligencer, July 28, 1843. See Niles's Register, LXIV, 383.

My family are in this District, spending their Summer at a healthy spot, where we have the benefit of a School, and where I am occasionally with them.

I am, my dear Sir, with great respect, Your's very Truly,
EDWARD J. BLACK.

From Duff Green. C. C.

London 2nd Sept. 1843

DEAR SIR I have seen Mr Goulbourn the present Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Palmerston since I last wrote to you, and conversed with them both on the subject of American affairs, especially on the subject of the tariff, the Oregon and Texas questions. I have seen other influential men of the Whig party who are prepared to rally against ministers on the question of slave grown produce, and especially on their policy of interfering with the question of slavery in foreign states.

I enclose you the Anti Slavery Reporter, the organ [of] the Anti slavery Committee and would call your attention to the speeches of Lord Brougham and Lord Aberdeen on the subject of Texas and the speeches of Sir Robt. Peel on Lord Brougham's slavery suppression bill as well as to the comment of the Editor, and the Speech of Mr Bright. The latter is a quaker and his speech shows that a reaction has begun here. The Anti slavery party are losing their influence and if our Govt. can be induced to take strong ground on the question of Texas, the free trade party here will rally for us against the fanatics and the Whigs will make the refusal of ministers to meet the proposition of our Government a matter of serious assaults.

I was most strongly advised to bring out an extract from your letter and also from a letter of Mr Upshur, that the people of England might know that you and he were in favor of an adjustment by treaty. It is believed that the effect will be to induce ministers to make the treaty or to so strengthen the popular sentment agt them as to bring in the Whigs.

I am satisfied that it will do service here and in the United

States. It will show that if all the questions between us be not satisfactorily adjusted, the fault is not with us.

I hope that you will not disapprove of what I have done. I did it for the best and I am sure it will result in good. I am progressing with my arrangements and hope to conclude them advantageously. I may get home in October, if not, in Novr. Bennett of the New York Herald is here. I have induced him to purchase all the Anti slavery documents, and have introduced him to influential parties here who have convinced him that the Anti Slavery movement has nearly run its course, and he goes home prepared to take strong ground with the south on the Tariff and on Abolition. His paper will cooperate with us most efficiently and your friends may command it to the fullest extent.

I have seen your letter to the Ed. of the Intelligencer and as you say you are under obligation to them.

Your friend

DUFF GREEN

From F. H. Elmore. C. C.

Charleston 4 Sep. 1843

MY DEAR SIR I was prevented leaving the City (as I informed you I would in my last) by an attack of the prevailing influenza. I have therefore had some more time to push our measures here. The opportunity has not been lost. Since I wrote we have succeeded in inducing M^r. Rhett to go to Washington with funds in hand and at his draft to put the Spectator into a daily if thought advisable and also, to make a movement for a paper in New York. The Journal of Commerce has been of late doing us some kind service—but we must have a good decided and able paper there if we can. Rhett left us last Wednesday. He was to stop a day or two in Virginia to see Mr Seddon, Scott and other friends and members of the Central Committee. Also to have an interview with Ritchie &c. He will probably be by this time in Washington. I had written to induce Genl Saunders,[1] Hunter, Mr Maxcy, Mr Broadhead and such others as they might think

[1] Romulus M. Saunders of North Carolina.

advisable to summon, to meet at Washington and make all proper arrangements for a systematic and regular plan of operations. Rhett had also written to Hunter. His plan adopted upon Conference with our Committee of 15, is to first put the Spectator going and if possible to get Hunter to take it, he promising to remain and with or without Hunter, aiding to edit it. He also will go to N York as soon as he can be spared to see if he cannot get a paper there. We have authorized him to say that we will raise $10,000 at least if our Northern friends will raise $5,000—all of what they raise, they may use in their own quarter. I have no fear of getting $15.000 if our friends in the Country will do half as well as we are doing in the City. We have suffered not a little in our operations by the prevailing influenza. My attack and Alb Rhett's have both greatly impeded action. We would have had before now some one to visit Pickens, McDuffie, Hammond and others to get their aid, but sickness in the family of Mr Simons our Secretary has stopped him. In a day or two we expect to get Mr A H Brown off. He is a very warm friend of yours and will I hope visit you on his way. You will find him shrewd and sensible, but full of prejudices,—yet on the whole well suited to the mission. We propose to send him first to Edgefield and thence to Abbeville, Pendleton, Chester, Fairfield, Sumter, Columbia Orangeburgh and home. Alb. Rhett was taken sick on his way to Beaufort after his Brother and was able to do nothing in that direction. Georgetown we must reach in some other way.

Our Correspondence is becoming more active, but still it is not what it ought to be. I cannot do a tithe of what is needed. I endeavor to keep up something in that way, but it is but indifferently done. We have letters from your friends in Mobile and I think I will send you Campbells. A few days before I recd. his, one from Jos. W LeSesne[1] (a son in law of Dr. Coopers) was recd by the Mercury asking much the same information that Campbell does. I wrote LeSesne—gave him a short history of our movements—let him understand the points in controversy with Ritchie and told him to keep his eye on that and he would easily understand what we should be going for. I also apprised him of Rhetts probable move-

[1] See his letters, *post*.

ment to Washington where I hoped some Central organization would be made and that he and our friends would know it if done. I also urged popular movements as widely as possible. Last winter they adjourned their Democratic Convention till the coming December. I said that now was the time to have County meetings to appoint Delegates—and one great movement should go off as a Leader with some strong exposition of our creed, resolutions declaring their preferences for the Presidency—District system, per Capita vote &c. I urged this as strongly as possible and inclosed the letter to Lewis with one to him insisting that he should go immediately up to Montgomery and Autauga and see Gov. Fitzpatrick and Mr. Belser and form their plan of operations and set immediately about its execution. I have stimulated Genl Saunders as much as I can.

I have waited anxiously to hear from you since Mr. Ritchies paper of the 22nd Aug. noticing "A member of the Convention". I have prepared a short reply to his questions, but I will not put it in print for a day or two, waiting to hear from you. I hope you will not hesitate as soon as anything appears in his paper requiring it, to let us have your views without waiting for us. You can see the course so much more clearly than we here who have so limited a scope of the field, that we would in all important moves rather greatly have your opinions before acting.

I hope to day to hear from Rhett—if I do I will put in a postscript to let you know what he says at Richmond. Would it not be well for you to drop your friend Greenhow of the Petersburgh Republican a word of advice. He is too rough—too hasty—too unguarded. Mr. Ritchie gets greatly the better of him by his temper. . . .

Very Truly yours F. H. Elmore

From Lemuel Williams.[1] C. C.

Boston, Septr 6th 1843.

Dear Sir Your letter of the 5th inst was duly received. If my anticipations regarding the movements of President

[1] Lemuel Williams, a classmate of Calhoun's friend Virgil Maxcy (Rhode Island College, 1804), was collector of the port of Boston from 1842 to 1845. He died in 1869.

Tyler had been realized fully, and your friends had been placed, at an earlier period, in situations of influence, we should have elected all the Delegates to the Baltimore convention from Maine (excepting two) friendly to you. But our opponents have had the advantage of party organization and will or have carried all the delegates excepting four; while I am assured, *upon the best authority*, that a decided majority of the Democratic party in Maine are favorable to you, including the most active and intelligent. The power of calling the conventions in the several states and counties lies with the committees who were appointed *under the old regime* and are in the interests of Van Buren. Knowing the rapid progress your cause is making, they appointed meetings to be held at an early day and in that way have been successful; when if they had delayed calling there meetings until next Spring success would in almost every instance have been with you. Not content even with these proceedings, but fearing the effect which the developement of public opinion may have upon their own delegates, they have resorted to the expedient of instructing them to vote for Van Buren, thus violating a great principle adopted in fixing upon May rather than November for the time of holding the Baltimore convention. The reason for preferring May to November undoubtedly was that the later period would better enable the convention to judge with precision as to who was the most available candidate. By choosing delegates in August or September we lose the advantage of acting upon the information that we should be furnished with, from developements that will assuredly take place during the next session of Congress. The time between this and next May was intended for the benefit of observation and deliberation. These objects are lost by an early choice of delegates, bound too, by instructions. Our State convention is to be held at Worcester on the 13th inst: The contest is going on with great activity and no little virulence. I shall send you a few papers by which you will see that some of the towns are instructing their delegates to nominate Van Buren and others are instructing to keep the question of the Presidency *an open one*. Gov. Morton[1] throws all the weight of

[1] Marcus Morton, governor of Massachusetts 1840-1841, 1843-1844.

his influence in favor of instructing the delegates to nominate Van Buren. Had he been friendly to you his position was such that with the aid of his influence we could have procured your nomination in Massachusetts, which would have powerfully influenced the action of the other New England States. As it is we shall nearly equal our opponents in convention and we expect to defeat the plan of nominating Van Buren. I do not expect the convention will amount to more than about four-hundred members. We have elected 60 of the delegates from Boston favorable to you to 12 Van Buren. About the same proportion in Essex. 10 to 2 in Salem. Eight in Charlestown beside many other towns favorably heard from. One thing is certain—if the convention nominate Van Buren Mortons vote will fall greatly short of what it was last year. We shall gain then *in any event.* If Van Buren is brought forward (as he assuredly will be) and fails of a nomination it will be evidence of his unpopularity. If nominated and Mortons vote is greatly diminished the same inference will follow. The meeting in the Park has come off gloriously. Your cause is certainly looking up at the North. A week since I thought the nomination of Van Buren certain. Now I think your chance of a nomination is best. Your friends here are determined if Van Buren should receive the nomination to run you on an independent ticket. Your friend Brownson thinks that we should have Whig votes enough to carry Massachusetts, Maine and New York and other Northern states which would follow the example of Massachusetts. I do not wish you to make any reply to this part of my letter whatever your sentiments may be. Your opponents are making a good deal out of your supposed sentiments on the Rhode Island question. I should be glad to receive a statement from you on that head which I may show to some of our Democratic friends from that state. I was requested to day to procure one from you but not for publication or even to be copied. One other ground of objection is used with great effect by the Van-buren party which is this; that if you were elected President, your political friends would have nothing to look for, but the Whigs be suffered to retain the offices obtained by thrusting out the Democrats. The Eastern Argus has been very busy of late in propagating this notion. Now as Mr Van

Buren has always acted upon the policy of rewarding his friends, and Mr. Clay has recently declared that he shall *take care of his friends*, some are deterred from adopting your cause from an opinion that if you are successful they would fare worse than tho' friends of either of the other successful candidates. Such motives will always operate on the selfish part of mankind who are but too numerous.

If the Southern politicians know, *as I know*, that one of the most objectionable means made use of by the Van Buren men here against you is your adherence to the domestic institutions of the South *they would never consent to abandon your cause in any event.* But more of this at some future period.

In relation to the Vice-Presidency it seems that Woodbury will not be able to carry his own State and cannot of course, bring the least aid to your cause. Should Van Burens friends hereafter conclude not to press his claims, or faling to procure his nomination, withdraw his name, it seems to me that Silas Wright's name on your ticket as Vice President would give it more strength than any other. If Van Buren should not be withdrawn your friends would have to choose between Cass and Buchanan. Would either of them consent to be run as Vice President?

I learn from intelligent gentlemen from the West that Cass has lost ground in that quarter by his controversy with Webster. Col. Johnson is expected here on his Northern tour and the friends of Van Buren here, and in N. Hampshire are making extensive preparations to receive him. Their object is to pursuade him to run with Van Buren for the Vice Presidency. Should they succeed it would greatly increase Van Burens chances. Some think that Johnsons demonstrations are for the purpose only of making capital for the Vice Presidency, while others who pretend to be well informed say that he will not run for the Vice Presidency and that he calculated to go into the convention for the presidency with the strength of ten states on the Oregon question. Are you correctly informed as to Johnsons views?

Sep 8

Since writing the above I have seen a gentleman who informs me that he has, within a few days, seen a letter from Col Johnson stating that he will not *in any event* be considered

a candidate for the Vice Presidency. *This is good news*, and in my opinion seals the fate of Van Buren. He must be defeated by a large majority in the first vote taken in the Convention. I was also informed yesterday from a source on which I can rely that four of the delegates to the Baltimore Convention chosen from Vermont are friendly to you. This we do not want known openly, as we should have to fear that they might be instructed adversely. The news from the Syracuse Convention received this morning has surprised us, *but agreeably*. I have seen many shrewd politicians to-day, among others Gov. Hill,[1] and they, one and all, consider the fact that the Convention have chosen the Delegates to Baltimore as decidedly *injurious*, nay *ruinous* to the prospects of Van Buren. It seems that he is afraid *to trust the people*. Your friends in that State will now rally and make choice of delegates by Districts. We hope the partizans of Van —— will try the same thing here, whether successful or not. I have heard it whispered that they intend to do so. Van Buren's friend Vanderpool was here, a few days since, endeavoring to buy up your friends. He was liberal, I am told, in his offers, promising to one the post office if he should succeed, and to my partner his former post of Naval officer, &c.

I have just received a letter from our friend Maxcy which as it is interesting I will send you a copy next week. I am going to [Baltimore?] next week for the purpose of trying an important case there. I hope on my return to find a letter from you.

With sincere regard Yr friend

L. WILLIAMS

From S. A. Lawrence. C. C.

New York 13th September 1843.

DEAR SIR: The meeting held here on Monday week, was hastily, if not inconsiderately, got up; and neither shows the character, nor number of persons friendly to your election, since many of the most respectable and influential were not

[1] Presumably Isaac Hill, of "Kitchen Cabinet" fame, governor of New Hampshire from 1836 to 1839.

apprised of the meeting in time. I was called upon on *Sunday*, and invited to serve as an Officer of a Meeting to be held the next day! without having seen the call, or names of the Officers, or order of business and Resolutions; and of course declined—having long since laid it down as a rule, to understand *before-hand*, the principles, and contemplated proceedings, of political meetings, previous to sanctioning the same with my name.

The Chairman waited upon me the next day, and explained the manner of getting it up &c. I encouraged the effort, and suggested, for future operations, the *District plan* of calling meetings in this City. I also urged upon him—and now pray leave to present to your consideration—the necessity and importance of establishing in this City, a Democratic paper, friendly to your Election. It would, as I observed to him, do more good, than forty mass meetings! and recommended prompt and strong exertions for its establishment, which I think will be made with success. An issue of 2000 daily papers at Two Cents each, will be required to defray the expense, and sustain such a journal. 1000 can be circulated in this City and State, and subscriptions are now being obtained; for the balance foreign aid must be solicited, and can unquestionably be procured. Perhaps the most ready and easy mode of accomplishing it, is by furnishing the names of one or more prominent, influential friends in each State, who should be apprised of the importance of the enterprise (by a Central Committee of one or more members from each State, to be organized for the general purposes of furthering your Election) and invited to aid in its Circulation not only, but also to furnish Articles and Communications; and, if it can be so arranged, that a given number of papers shall be guaranteed to be circulated in each State, there would be little or no delay in its publication. The Plebian is the only Democratic morning paper published in this City, and speaks for itself!

A strong Democratic morning paper, denominated the "United States Advocate," or some other appropriate name conducted by an able Editor, of great respectability, probity, and a high order of talent, advocating the *union* and doctrine of Free Trade and sailors rights, is required in this City; and, in my opinion, would succeed, and yield a fair profit to the

proprietor; and most assuredly, it would carry a very great political influence and weight in your favor. It would unquestionably be the most useful and powerful engine, that can be brought to bear upon the enemy, if worked adroitly upon the high pressure system, and the steam kept up, by editorial articles, communications, extracts from other papers, from your pamphlet, remarks upon your patriotic conduct towards the Van Buren administration, in sacrificing private opinions and prejudices of the man and with a single eye for the public good, throwing yourself in the gap, and thereby saving his administration from dissolution, and preserving the union and integrity of the Democratic party, shewing up his ingratitude in becoming your Competitor under such circumstances, his deception and want of honesty in professing to approve the *one term* doctrine, and, at the same time, offer himself for a second term! But, in his case, I am not surprised at any of these things; for I have marked his entire political career. He, not having had the benefit of a Classical Education, and all his time having been occupied in the practice of law, and the turmoil of politics, has had little or no time for Reading or improvement, which has always operated much against him:—but he early acquired the character of an artful, cunning, selfish politician, which he still retains. And these qualifications, with fugitive political principles, and much good luck, has raised him to the high political position he now holds, and *nothing else!* What great or good act, has he ever performed for this State, or the United States? If any, I am ignorant of it.

The Irish vote in this City is very large; and a member of their fraternity, observed to me a few days ago, that Mr. Van Buren would not get 300 of these votes in this City and County! At the Syracuse Convention his friends had a majority, and as you'll observe have rejected the District plan, and adopted the old Anti-republican system of choosing delegates. The proceedings of the Convention are irregular; and they, in appointing Electors, have exceeded their powers; and many members were received *without Credentials!* Four of our delegates *protested*, and have called, or will shortly call a Meeting of our Citizens friendly to the District System, and lay before

them the entire proceedings of the Convention, which will not—cannot be sanctioned.

The influence I most fear, is the Anti Slavery Societies; and should they act in concert, it will be a powerful vote, and *given* to the Candidate who favors their principles. This subject requires deep consideration and must be met, and controverted; its unjust, improper and dangerous tendency, and thus *fatal consequences*, if carried out, would be a violation of the federal Compact, and cause a seperation of the Union! Let it once be understood, that no President shall hereafter come from a Slave holding State, and the Rubicon is passed. But relying as I do upon the good sense, inteligence, and patriotism, of the Citizens of the U. S.—I hope for, and expect, a more favorable result. Pray excuse the liberty I take in addressing you, as above, but I feel a deep interest in the success of your Election, and a desire to do what I can to promote it; and have thought, that some of the preceeding suggestions, may in some slight degree, benefit the cause. With a tender of my services, which you may freely command, I remain

Very respectfully and truly Yrs

S. A. LAWRENCE.

From R. M. T. Hunter. C. C.

Septr. 19th [1843].

MY DEAR SIR I have just returned from Washington where I have been to consult with our friends. Mr Rhett I presume has advised you of our proceedings there. He inclines to Greenhow as an editor and so do I unless we should lose the Republican by taking him away. Mr Rhett is probably this day in Richmond upon that business. He promised me to consult Seddon and the Richmond Committee before he saw Greenhow and in any event *not to destroy* the Republican which is doing good service. I could not wait to see Maxcy. He had then just returned home from the North where he published a pamphlet on the Convention said to be very able. I have not yet read it but Maxcy writes well. Hatton writes me from N Y that our friends are in *high spirit*. They mean to fight the battle in earnest and they will probably raise

funds in N York to establish an efficient Calhoun paper in that city. I do not know who is to be the editor. Some assistance can be had from Norton. I advised Rhett therefore not to offer funds from Charleston, but when he reached the North to urge them to establish the paper in N York with their own funds. This I believe can be done. The residue of the money raised in Charleston ought to be kept (I think) for a document and contingent fund. Mr Rhett will endeavour to organise a committee in Washington to assist him. Genl T thinks this will be difficult but I found one man who will cooperate efficiently and others doubtless may be had.

I found that Mr Rhett had written you despondingly. I am no prophet and of late I distrust my judgment as to future occurrences more than ever. But I by no means despond. We may be beaten but not if we fight with the proper spirit and judgment. The Syracuse Convention has given us a great advantage if our friends are staunch and know how to use it. Our New York friends have taken the right stand and we must sustain them. We go for a district convention and if the states known to be favorable to you will take their stand upon this, we will beat down the Syracuse plan and elect our man. At least there would be fair chances for electing him. I urged Rhett to write to Buchanan at once. If Johnson Buchanan and Cass unite with us on this position we must either beat Van Buren or there will be no Convention. It is very desirable to have their aid but we had no time to wait. The Syracuse proceedings must be met at once. I fear however that B. J and C will keep up the old game of making us contest all matters with V B so as to obtain the second place in the affections of his friends. But dispersed as we now are we had no time to play the game with them. It is very desirable that our friends all over the Union should second the movement of our N York friends. It was made at Maxcy's suggestion who informed them that I had been endeavoring to prepare such a movement throughout the summer. So I have but God knows with little enough of success so far as organisation is concerned. But they think that there is more of this last than really exists and the idea serves to inspirit them. The course of Georgia and probably of Mississippi will embarrass us. Early in the last spring I wrote

to some of our friends in S° C^a and I think also to you to urge the propriety of districting Georgia as had been done in N Hampshire. Unfortunately for us two of our most reliable states have the general ticket system and there will be great difficulty in getting them to aid us in this movement. Genl. T thinks this movement vital to our success. If our friends sustain it there will be no Convention and New York will have the responsibility of defeating it. Will they aid us? You have seen by this Rhetts article in the Spectator on this subject. I will write tonight to urge Greenhow to sustain it. I have already written to young McLane. This last writes me that our friends in the middle states are prepared to break up the Convention and he asked my opinion of the propriety of his advocating the eléction by the House. I replied that to advocate an election by the House as good 'per se' would do us mischief but he might well show that the evils coming from it would be less than that of a packed Convention or one which like the Syracuse plan would destroy all the influence of the smaller states in the Presidential election.

As I came through Baltimore last Saturday I saw Watterson of Tennessee who has been recently appointed to Buenos Ayres by Tyler. He was just from a tour through 8 states. He says he thinks there is a growing impression amongst the Democrats that their only hope of success is in an election by Congress. He says that in Tennessee since the election the party are convinced that they will be beaten in Tennessee if V B is run. He was at the Hermitage about 4 weeks ago and Genl Jackson told him that he would vote for you if nominated. He thinks that J still prefers V B but says he is now very silent about it. He was told by Polks brother in law that you could take Tennessee but V B could not. Turney is now convinced that V B cannot run successfully in Tennessee but talks about Cass. Johnson is gaining strength in the west and Benton it is said is alarmed. He says in his public speeches that it is "no mark of democracy to vote for Col° Johnson". Allen Medary and that set Waterson thinks are immovably for V Buren, but they will be beaten (he thinks) in Ohio by the Whigs. In my own State Mr Ritchie will have more difficulty than he expected. Your friends here do not

yet know their own strength, but they are numerous and talented.

I have so many letters to write this evening that I must reserve what I have further to say for another occasion

Yours truly

R M T HUNTER

From Duff Green. C. C.

London 29th Sept. 1843

MY DEAR SIR I send you the Examiner's Comments on your letter. The article was prepared by one of the most influential members of Parliament who has at all times taken a most prominent lead in the Anti Slavery movement, and I value it the more because you cannot fail to see that I have done much to remove from his mind the prejudice against the south, and especially on the questions of slavery and state rights.

I have also seen Lord Palmerston and several other leading Whigs who were most disposed to go astray on that point and have done much to pledge them to free trade principles without reference to the source from where the produce comes in exchange. Sir Robert Peel is sound in Principle but it is now manifest that he will fold his arms and wait for events. The Anti Corn law league are making great progress and have enlarged their basis so as to go for free trade and against all monopolies. They have just made their report of the proceedings of last year, and have expended about $240,000 and propose expending 500,000$ more the next year in disseminating tracts, delivering lectures and prosecuting all bribery &c at Elections.

The Tories were put into power by the free trade and liberal party, because they had no confidence in the Whigs. Hence Sir Robert Peel was compelled to do more than the Whigs had promised to do. The Whigs are now prepared to go further than the tories and hence the free trade and liberal party will support the Whigs ag^t the tories. What I have labored to do is to commit the Whigs in favor of free trade with America and of a favorable arrangement of our boundary. The

article in the Examiner, which is one of the most influential of the Whig papers is one step, and I propose before I leave to make arrangements for an active Correspondence, *through the press*, between the free trade party of England and the free trade party of the United States; I am to see Mr Cobden on Tuesday for this purpose.

As part of my arrangements Mr Senior one of the ablest and most influential writers for the Edingburg Review has agreed to review your life and speeches and Judge Upshur's review of Judge Story's book on the Am. Constitution,[1] and Mr McGregor has promised me that he will adopt and engraft our view of the Constitution and of trade in his great work which he is preparing under the order of the British Government on the Commercial systems of the World. His will be a standard work of great merit and altho he is not a lawyer he will do much in disabusing the European Public as to our character and institutions.

I have written to Judge Upshur requesting him to forward to Mr McGregor and Mr Senior Copies of your Life and Speeches and of his review. It is of the first importance that these gentlemen shall be furnished with Copies at an early day, and hope that the Judge will attend to it. . . .

From R. B. Rhett. C. C.

[Washington, Oct. 7, 1843]

My Dear Sir I have just returned from New York whither I went to endeavor to establish a new Press there. I am assured that it will go into operation next week: but I fear it will not have the means to employ such talent as to make it very useful. I went also to Richmond, and we have arranged that Mr. Greenhow is to come here so soon as his place is supplied in Petersburgh. Neither here nor at New York was any thing done before I came. Next week, I propose starting the Spectator as a tri-weekly Paper, I being the sole writer in it. I suppose you receive it, and see what I have done in it.

In New York our friends are very firm. If they can get up a vigorous press there we will accomplish a great deal.

[1] Petersburg, 1840.

Last week without an effort we carried 9 out of the 17 wards, for nominating Candidates to the Legislature Sh'ff &c. Our side is moving I think both in that City and in New England. I saw also men from the interior of N. Y. A Press will shortly be set up in Utica. One is apt to be deceived from hearing only from one side, but I am strongly of opinion that we are gaining and Mr V. B. is loosing ground. We will carry the District system in Connecticut, and may succeed in postponing the action of the approaching Convention in that State. Watterson was here last Week and had a long conversation with Johnson, and the result is, that he has written to Polk that Johnson will take the Vice Presidency on V. B. Ticket. The rumour here to Day is also that Webster and Clay are again friends and Webster is to run as V. P. on Clay's Ticket. The Old Swiss is bought up again by the [*illegible*]. But this is not certain altho' likely.

If my views of the State of things are correct, it will not be wise to scale off from the Democratic or even V. B. Party. It appears to me so plain that Mr V. B. cannot be elected, that a few months must convince stupidity itself. If he persists in his method of organizing the Convention, it will require no great effort to kill him. He will do that himself, and if it is necessary for us to do it, it will be time enough to take our way of doing it, when the time arrives for doing it. It is equally clear, that altho we can destroy him, we cannot succeed ourselves without Mr V. B. friends. We have not yet reached the popular mind with our reasons for opposing a Convention, by a Consolidated State Representation. We must have their ears: that when we move off we may move with power, and have the estimation of all impartial men, instead of violent prejudice to battle with. Hence I am for a moderate but firm tone. Fair and repeated discussion of principles. Repel attacks—but do it in such a way as to show we are on the defensive and rather from our tone than from our words let them understand where we will be found. Much [talk] of our future course in or out of the Convention will be wrong. Some of our friends I think have gone too fast in this respect. It will be time enough when the Convention is to meet to determine first whether we will go into it—and second what we will do in it. In my opinion, it is by no means

improbable that at this time Mr. V. B. will be no Candidate—Cass will then be the most formidable Man. If he would consent to take the V. P. it would be the best arrangement. I have recd. proposals to that effect. What say you to it?

I am urged to return home to see my new Constituents this fall and I am told that if I do not I may be opposed in the next election. My answer has been, that it was my design to visit my Constituents this fall; but that I am satisfied that I am here doing them more service than by going to see them. If they will not believe this, they may turn me out, if they please. I shall stay here and work in their cause and the cause of the Country.

Remember me kindly to Mr. Clemson and believe me Dear Sir

Yours truly

R. B. Rhett

Oct 7th 1843

Mrs. Rhett is still in So. Car.

From R. B. Rhett. C. C.

Washington, Oct 16" 1843

My Dear Sir I find I will be compelled to leave this City and go home to bring Mrs Rhett, and I think I had better do it at once, so that I might be able to return the sooner, before the meeting of Congress.

The late Elections have very clearly shown that the Whigs are very powerful—so powerful as to render it pretty clear that Clay will beat Van Buren. Webster it is now well understood will sink back into the Whig Party, and they will be united. If Van Buren is run, Clay will beat him any how; but with the divisions and lukewarmness, (if no worse occurs) which must necessarily follow a nomination by a Convention constituted as Mr V. B's friends propose, it will be desperate folly, to attempt to run him. And yet if they persist in their method of organisation, and we oppose or seceed from the Party, it is clear you cannot be elected; for, there are sufficient V. B. Men in all the States, with the Whigs, to defeat us. Indeed, if you were to get the nomination in the present tem-

per of Mr V. B.'s friends, it would be useless, for I am satisfied they would stand aloof and see us beaten. Van Buren cannot succeed without us, and we cannot succeed without his friends. Neither in their present mood will allow the other to succeed; whilst we are conjointly too weak, to carry the election with a nobody like Cass, or even Buchanan. You are the only Man, who can beat Clay in the South, and the carrying of the South has usually been the Presidency. As things now look, there appears to me to be but one method for the Democratic Party to succeed, and that is, each portion of the Union running the man most popular in each Section. Clay's chance is decidedly the best for the next President.

All this mischief has arisen from Mr. V. B. allowing himself to be used by others who in flattering his vanity and ambition, were only using him to keep you down. He will fail; and prove himself to be the heaviest curse of the Party. Had he not stepped in the way, the whole [Atlantic?] board would have united on you, and we would have known none of the divisions which are the strength of the Whigs.

I shall not leave here until Friday, and hope before I leave here, to hear something definite from Mr. Greenhow, who is waiting for a fit person to take his place. In the mean time I have written to Hunter and Maxcy to aid Mr. Hunt until I return, but to tell you the truth I calculate but little on either of them, to contribute to the Paper.

The next Congress will be a very agitated one, and will doubtless affect powerfully the Presidency. If the Democrats would play the free trade policy boldly out, and sustain the Texas question—and run you;—we can succeed. The Zealots at the North will oppose Clay because from the South, and in the South you would beat him on the Tariff question, especially if his friends oppose the modifications which we propose, as they will. But I fear there is little hope of such a combination of wise results. The probability is, dissension and defeat.

Remember me kindly to Mr. Clemson and believe me

Yours

R B Rhett

From Francis W. Pickens. C. C.

Charleston Sunday Morning, Oct. 22, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR On my arrival here day before yesterday I found your friends in some excitement. I heard that you were determined to refuse immediately to go into a convention at all, and that you desired the central Com. here to take the stand openly unless N. York receded from the Syracuse Convention &c. &c. I saw Elmore, Boyce, Conner, Gadsden, Gourdin, Aster &c. &c. but could get nothing very definite or certain, except they seemed to be in confusion. Elmore then shewed me a letter from Rhett at Washington, in which the first sentence was, "I entirely disapprove of the course advised by Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Maxcy," and then goes on to give excellent advice and full of good sense according to my judgment, but I could not understand what yours and Maxcy's advice was, and Elmore could not tell me, only that he understood it was to refuse to go into convention &c. &c. This was all strange to me. Rhett is to be here to-day and Elmore is to have us all together to-morrow to consult freely. I think nothing ought to be done decisive until Congress meets and let every friend of ours be on the ground at least 5 days before the meeting and let them consult together freely, and give the most authentic information as to the true state of things in their different States. My own opinion is that we ought to give up the Speakership if we can get the Printer—in the present state of the country it is more important to us. But I would give up neither unless they would liberally and cordially give to us the Printer. It will strike a decided blow at the Globe and Enquirer. If they will not agree, then push Lewis—or I would still rather take a Buchanan Speaker if they will act with us and the Whigs and give us the Printer. But I fear Lewis might not like this, as I hear he is eager for the Speakership. But of one thing I am sure the most decided move ought to be made at the opening of Congress. And in the consultation tomorrow I shall take decided grounds agst. doing anything final at present, but wait the meeting of Congress. I think Clay is stronger than he was. I have no idea that any portion of the Whigs will ever support you as long as there is the slightest chance for him.

I have just seen Col. Hansen from Milledgeville. He was with Berrien day before yesterday at Savannah, and has recently been all through Geo. You know he is Whig but personally a friend of yours. He says that State will undoubtedly go for Clay, and that the Democratic party are split and that a new convention will be called and nominate V. Buren &c. I recd a letter from Col. I. W. Hayne of Montgomery and also one from J. M. Calhoun the other day. They both say that they think the Democratic party will nominate V. B. this Winter at Tuscaloosa. Now this may come from their fears and their peculiar position.

If N. York acts upon what our friends have moved there—that is to elect Dist. Representatives to the Convention this will bring up the Question directly, and we may have a separate Dist. Convention, but I hardly think it will *break the organization* of the *Democratic* party and will only throw off our own State. The consequence may be to give us also N. Ca., at least to keep it from V. B., but this would not take you to the house. I think it very probable it might elect Clay.

Do tell Mr. Clemson that Dr. Geddings tells me there will be no vacancy in that Professorship and that he would always be pleased to aid him when an opportunity occurs.

In great haste but Truly

F. W. PICKENS.

From Joseph Smith.[1] C. C.

Nauvoo, Ill. Nov. 4th 1843

DEAR SIR. As we understand that you are a candidate for the Presidency at the ensuing Election; and as the Latter Day Saints (sometimes called Mormons, who now constitute a numerous class in the school politic of this vast Republic), have been robbed of an immense amount of property, and endured nameless sufferings by the State of Missouri, and from her borders have been driven by force of arms, contrary to our National Covenant, and as, in vain, we have sought redress,

[1] The Mormon prophet, Calhoun's reply, ted December 2, 1843, may be seen in Niles's Register, LXV, 357.

by all constitutional, legal, and honorable means, in her courts, her Executive Councils and her Legislative Halls; and as we have petitioned Congress to take cognizance of our sufferings without effect, we have judged it wisdom to address you this communication, and solicit an immediate, specific, and candid reply to What *will be your rule of action*, relative to *us*, *as a people*, should fortune favor your ascension to the Chief Magistracy.

Most Respectfully, Sir, Your Friend and the friend of peace, good order, and Constitutional Rights,

JOSEPH SMITH.

In behalf of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

From James Hamilton. C. C.

Milledgeville Nov 21st 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, On my arrival at this place I found a most unfortunate state of things in regard to the *Democratic Party*, which is broken routed and disunited. The Old Union Flank of the party attribute their defeat to your friends bringing forward the nomination at the June Convention and selecting Cooke instead of some one from their own ranks. The truth is the old Unionists are deeply tainted with Van Burenism, and if some means are not taken to unite the party it can never be rallied again by its old Leaders. I think the party is panic struck with their overwhelming Defeat here. I can find but one man in the right spirit and that is Howard. We have both written for McAllister who has more influence with the Union portion of the party than any Man in Georgia, to come here and consult with us what it may be best to do.

The District System will be engrafted on the Constitution of Georgia in the composition of the Senate and H. of R. and for the Congressional Representation. The Democrats have called a Convention to meet here on the 2d Monday in Dec. expressly in reference to the Presidential election. The Van Buren Men desire by its means to reconfirm the present Delegates to the Baltimore Convention but to leave them unfettered by instructions to *vote for you*, but to vote as they deem best at the Convention. Howard and your friends will of course if they are strong enough come out with an open nomination of

yourself—or if this cannot be carried Refer the choice of new Delegates to the Districts which the Amendment to the Constitution will lay off. I have advised this latter course most strenuously because I know that it is more in conformity with your own views—Connecticut and N. H. having gone against us and Mr. Van Buren's triumph in N. Y. have disheartened your friends exceedingly in this State, and with the exception of Howard and a few other staunch spirits—the opinion seems to be gaining ground that you ought to withdraw, which I have discountenanced with utter scorn—as a pusillanimous retreat before even the Battle is commenced. Judge Colquitt I am sorry to say seems to incline to this opinion that he doubted if Dick Johnson runs whether you would be one of the *three* highest to go into the House, and if you did go in, he thought you could get no other than the States that sent you *there*. In other words that in the House Van Buren had already a majority secured or if not, that Clay would be elected. By retiring Colquit thinks in 4 years you would be the Man chosen by the people of the U. S. above all other Candidates if you were *now* to make yourself so acceptable to the Democracy as to withdraw from distracting it any further. As I regard such a retrograde movement as not to be entertained which would be construed as resulting rather from a source of weakness than a Magnanimous concession to your opponent Mr Van B. who has no right to ask or expect it at your hands I have set my face resolutely against your backing out as had our friend Howard. The truth is My Dear Sir the democratic party of Geo composed as it is [is] not worth the paper on which its obituary might be written—and what is the Democracy of the Union to which your friends have linked you?—An immense mass of *ignorance* moved by the necessary Momentum of *Knavery*—I never believed the Leaders and organs of the party would have the public vertue and discernment to select you as their Man. Your friends have committed a great and fatal mistake in committing you to the Democracy and of bringing you out *eo nomine* under its banner. You should have stood on your own ground as a War Republican of 1812. and in your place in the Senate *still have been at the head of a Great Southern party*. I believe this Session of Congress would have not passed without you having

a Republican party around you which would have given you a primary strength not inferior to your Competitors. But they have attempted to bind you hand and foot and to throw you in the midst of an old subtle and implacable foe, the Old Jackson party of the Kitchen and Bed Chamber happily uniting the morals of Kendal with those of Mrs Eaton. I was cursed by your friends for my London Letter. I wrote it I confess to you to give you a Platform to Stand upon in this coming contest which I knew you could only occupy with strength on some Middle ground, which your Speech in 1835 on the Currency and your last Speech on the Tariff most amply afforded. If we had had a distinct party formed between the extreme restrictive rigor of Mr Van Buren school which means hypocracy covering licentiousness and the extreme licence of Mr Clays, I believe the Country might have been carried under the lead of your genius and public vertue. But it is too late now. Your friends have brought you out as a Democrat and under that Flag with a devided Empire you will have to fight.

I have told our friends here that nothing now remains but to *agitate* and to *agitate deeply* and *extensively*. At a Meeting of our friends in Charleston it was agreed on my suggestion that we should get up a Young's Mans Convention to meet at Columbus Geo calling on all young men among your friends to hold meetings all over the South and send Delegates early in the Spring to that place [to] take into consideration the best means of promoting your election. The question was from what point the invitation should come for the assembly of such a body. It was agreed that it should not come from S. C. and the Season of the year forbid all hope of its coming from New York as Delegates would not travel to N. Y. during the inclement weather of the coming Winter and early Spring beyond which the Convention could not be postponed. It was agreed that if possible the invitation should come from Georgia which our friends will endeavour to effect before the adjournment of the Legislature, if it can be compassed with harmony and perfect concord, which can alone give authority to such a move. It is not to be concealed that the old Union party of Geo desire to *repress* every *token in your favor for fear it may prejudice Van Buren.* It is still confidently believed in a fair issue before the people

of Georgia you could beat any man in the U. States but between Clay and Van Buren it will scarcely be a contest—as I believe the struggle all over the Union will turn out if it should happen that Van Buren is the Nominee of the Baltimore Convention. From the progress of events, I am more reluctant than ever to go into that "Den of Thieves." Let me know your own views of *our* best course, and whether you have determined on *your own*. My advice to you may be comprehended in a single sentence—*Stand firm and wait the progress of events.*

I shall leave this next week for the Chattahoochee, there will write fully and without reserve to Major Howard as to the [appearance ?] of the affairs of our party throughout the Union and in this State.

Address me at Fort Mitchell (Ala) to which place I shall return next week prepared to give any impulse in any quarter you may desire.

Having disposed of this public matter let me advert to another.

Do you know that I think that our friend Howard has started a Question upon which the highest interests of the South may be involved to wit—whether Texas as an integral part of Louisiana is not *de jure* now in the Union. If under the treaty of 1803 between France and the U. States she was comprehended in the Limits of Louisiana and as such was admitted into the Union, the Genl Gov^t. could not cede any portion of the Territory of a State without violating its territorial sovereignty. This was overlooked by you all in M^r. Monroe's administration when the Florida Treaty was concluded. But no lapse of time can consecrate a Usurpation on the part of the Federal Gov^t. If this be a true view of the subject, Louisiana according to Howards opinion Louisi^a has nothing to do but to enter her jurisdiction over Texas and she is *de jure* and *de facto* in the Union. Let me hear from you immediately on this point.

Ever faith'^y.

P. S. Major Howard is at my elbow since closing this Letter and begs me to say emphatically to *you hold on.* He will be exceedingly gratified to hear from you.

Howard may move on the Texas question in a few days.

C. C.

From Theophilus Fisk.[1]

Portsmouth, Va. Nov. 29, 1843.

SIR, May I dare to presume so much upon your kindness as to beg that you will favour me with a letter to any friend you may have in Europe, that you may feel at liberty to make me acquainted with. Should it meet your convenience and approbation to grant this request, you will please add to the obligation by addressing it to me at Washington, under cover to the Hon. D. H. Lewis. I expect to sail for England or France about the middle of December as bearer of despatches from our government.

I take the liberty of forwarding you the proceedings of the late meeting of our district Convention, to elect a delegate, or delegates, to be held in Baltimore in May next. You will perceive that it adjourned without going into an election, in consequence of three of the Counties in their district, being unrepresented. The motion for adjournment was made and carried by your friends, and they have gained great credit for their magnanimity, as we outnumbered the Van Buren delegates more than *two to one!* And that too with but little effort on our part, while they moved earth and sea to pack the Convention with their exclusive friends. We shall lose nothing by adjourning, as Princess Anne and Surrey Counties will elect delegates friendly to yourself, and the other (Southampton) will, it is thought, do the same. The votes of the Counties will stand in the Convention:

Calhoun.		*Van Buren.*	
Norfolk County	2	Sussex	1
Norfolk borough	1	*Doubtful.*	
Isle of Wight	1	Southampton	1
Nansemond	1		
Surrey	1		
Princess Anne	1		
	7		

I very greatly fear that the Convention at Baltimore will be anything rather than a true exponent of public opinion. Indeed I have feared this from the very first, as Mr. Pickens

[1] Theophilus Fisk was an editor in southeastern Virginia, and a prominent supporter of Calhoun in that region.

and Mr. Lewis can both testify. Knowing the trading politicians who draw the wires for Mr. Van Buren, as well as I do, I could not trust them so far as to meet them in Convention; this made me so anxious to unfurl your banner "subject *only* to the decision of the American people." I ventured to do this; it met the approbation of all our friends here; but other papers devoted to your interest thinking it best to say "subject to the Baltimore Convention" I very reluctantly yielded my preferences. I hope that your friends will never again consent to submit their claims to any other body than the sovereign people.

We have gained a very considerable accession to our numbers by the "Tyler meeting" which was held here some six or eight weeks ago. The Clay and Van Buren men united and established a new paper here in opposition to the "Old Dominion;" to counteract their base designs, your friends united with those who were friendly to Mr. Tyler and held a large public meeting—the proceedings of which have been so basely misrepresented by the Whig papers, as being of an unfriendly character to yourself. These gentlemen continue to act with us in good faith, and will do so at the polls, when they see that there is no hope of his re-election.

Pardon the liberty I have taken and believe me

With the highest respect your ob't sev't

THEOPHILUS FISK.

From Virgil Maxcy. C. C.

Tulip Hill West River, 3rd Dec. 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, I duly received your letter of the 14th Nov. some days ago and should have gone over immediately to consult with Mr. Rhett on the expediency of a congressional consultation for the purpose of preventing a split in the party, but circumstances occurred which prevented my doing so. I have concluded therefore to present the conclusions to which my mind has been brought by a view of the past. It would not be safe to go into any convention, however formed, with the Richmond and Albany politicians. And it would not be consistent with principle to give countenance to any one, not formed on the District System, and as there is no reason to

expect that the friends of Mr. V. B. will alter their course in regard to this, it appears to me that you ought at some period—what period future events must decide—to publish, thro' the medium of a letter to a friend written for publication or in some other mode, your reasons for determining not to produce division by allowing your name to be presented before a convention, formed in whole or in part on any other plan than a direct representation of the people in Districts. Such a course would place you higher than ever before the country, which is getting sick of Caucus or Convention Dictation, and preserve your lofty name and character as a rallying point in the future,—whereas if you went into the convention and should be rejected, as you undoubtedly would be, it would lower your character and destroy in a great measure the influence of your name in rallying the good men of all parties, when a new organization of parties shall take place as it will undoubtedly do after Mr. Clays term is out. I say after Mr. Clay's term is out: for such is the dissatisfaction and ill feeling now produced in the different portions of the Republican party by the base fraud which has procured every one of the nominations of V. B. that I do not believe that if he should be withdrawn even you could be elected. The treachery of the V. B. men would produce your defeat, if nothing else. I do not think that any consultation of the Republican Members of Congress would do any good. A majority of them are for Van B. and determined I believe to persevere as they have begun. Our friends in New England have greviously misled us—and painful as it is to say so, yet as I feel it a sacred duty of friendship to give my opinions without reserve, it does appear to me, that there is nothing left but to decide how you should be withdrawn so that you may be preserved for the country in future. There is one event and but one, it appears to me, that can alter this state of things—and that is, the immediate calling up of the Texas question, which may possibly unite the South and by weakening Clay bring the Southern candidate into the house. Whether this will take place or not cannot be known before the meeting of Congress, a day or two after which I will go over to Washington and write you again.

Faithfully yours, V. Maxcy.

From R. B. Rhett. C. C.

[Dec. 8, 1843.]

My Dear Sir I told you in my last written in great haste and disgust that I would shortly write to you again.

For a month before Congress met I was labouring to effect an organization of all opposed to Mr. Van Buren, and thus control the elections in the House of Representatives. I thought, if this was accomplished, it would show such a decided opposition to him, as to put him out of the question for the Presidency. For this purpose I saw Mr. Dallas[1] of Philadelphia the Brother in Law of Judge Wilkins,[2] and disclosed to him my views. The Judge fell into our policy. We were to run him for Speaker, keep out of all caucusses, and with the Pennsylvanians and our Southern Men with the Johnson Men control events. Johnson who has been for some time in Washington fell into our views. Everything went on well until Ingersol and Buchanan arrived in Washington. The former by an active and the latter by a negative influence, scared the Pennsylvania Delegation, and they broke ground. Our Southern friends who were trembling before at the boldness and hazards of this policy, soon gave up also. As soon as this was ascertained on Saturday I returned home and wrote to you my last Letter informing you of this result and my determination to have nothing to do with the Caucus. Near Sun-set however Lewis sent a Gentleman with a hook to me, to beg me to return to Washington, to consider with our friends some new measures. I went, and found the proposition, to force on the Caucus, the 2/3 principle of nomination, or to seceed. To carry this, I was strongly urged to go into the Caucus. I consented at last went into the Caucus and carried it. The rest you will have learned from the Papers. We were obliged to stand to the nominations when made according to our own rule.[3] The Georgians tried hard to make one of their Citizens [?] clerk. It failed and I was glad of it.

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[1] George M. Dallas, Vice-President of the United States from 1845 to 1849.

[2] William Wilkins, Secretary of War 1844-1845.

[3] The Democrats nominated and the House elected John W. Jones, of Virginia, Speaker, and Blair and Rives printers.

The effect of the organization of the House and indeed all late events bearing on the Presidency, is undoubtedly, to make Mr. Van Buren the nominee of the Party. Indeed, if you could obtain the nomination, as I stated to you before, it would be useless in the present temper of things. The Van Buren people would defeat you as they did Cooper in Georgia. And unless the revision of the Tariff is properly supported by the Party, it is equally impossible for Mr. V. B. to be elected. Our friends will undoubtedly defeat him. Our policy at present is, to keep things as they are. Push on our principles as to the Tariff and the organisation of the Convention and take position in future as circumstances render necessary. Strive to control events for good, for the present, and as to the future to keep you in position to be head of the Party if it dissolves by defeat, or should even succeed. Time will devellop what we shall do, and when we shall do it. We are going to be beaten most disastrously with Mr. Van Buren; and I trust there will be end of the cursed and cursing influence of the old Jackson Clique. On you we must rally—and you must keep yourself in position, to enable us to do so. The Whigs are sanguine and buoyant of success, I think with good reason.

And now My Dear Sir in communicating to [you] once more the sad tydings of failure, I know you will appreciate the efforts of your friends, whilst you will probably regret results so far as you are concerned probably less than any of them. Let us cheer up our hearts with the remembrance and consolation, that if God regards the interests of indeviduals, he must much more regard the movements of Nations—and that in him we are safe. To labour with energy and cheerfulness, but to submit with humility to his decrees is the dictate of the truest philosophy as well as the requisition of our peace. You have heard of my mighty affliction in the loss of my Brother. In him is gone the chief personal reward I looked to in my public labours—lifting up this great and virtuous mind to a sphere of usefulness congenial to its powers. God has said, "I forbid it" and calls him home to himself. I bow I trust with a proper submission, and may I not hope, that I shall meet you hereafter, if no more on earth, with him, in the mansions of rest. Let me implore

you, my aged friend and political Father, seek God in Christ. I have found him, and you will find him also if you will seek him Excuse me, if it is presumption, in thus speaking to you, and attribute it, to a sincere and affectionate interest in your temporal and spiritual welfare. That God will bless and visit you and yours with his salvation is the prayer of

Your friend

R B RHETT

Dec 8"—1843

P. S. Mrs. Rhett who is working at the table makes me take up my pen to send to you her kindest remembrance.

From Virgil Maxcy. C. C.

Washington 10th Dec. 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, I wrote the enclosed letter a few days ago, but missing the hour of departure of the mail from West River, I brought it over here and have concluded to send it to you. If I write now under feelings of less discouragement, I do it under those of greater mortification from the events that have taken place here. You have no doubt received various accounts of them from your friends here, who participated in them. I am glad I did not get here till after the final Caucus, in which your flag, tho' not struck down, as represented by the correspondent of the Richmond Enquirer, was nevertheless not held up by your friends in defiance of the violent gale that was blowing, with the unflinching firmness it ought to have been, for fear as I could not have changed the current of things, my excitement might have led me into indiscretions, that might have excited the resentment and ill-feelings of some of our friends without doing any good, as my private station would have given me neither the right nor the opportunity at the suitable moment to interfere or remonstrate.

I have now been here four days and have been endeavouring amidst conflicting accounts, (from the desire of those who participated in the movements here to cast blame from themselves upon others,) to find out the truth, which I believe is as nearly as follows.

Mr. Rhett, as he, no doubt, has informed you, had taken a journey to Philadelphia and New York partly with a view to form a coalition among the friends of the Candidates for nomination opposed to Mr. Van Buren for the purpose of making Mr. Wilkins speaker, who I understand without hesitation gave the necessary pledges in regard to Committees, the 23rd rule &c. Rhett thought he had succeeded in forming a combination sufficiently strong, with the aid of the Whigs to elect Wilkins and to refuse to go into caucus. Among the allies were the Pennsylvania delegation and some of Johnson's friends. If all had remained firm, Wilkins would have been elected, but it is said that Buchanan after his arrival had not firmness enough to keep his friends up to the sticking point. Your friends then, I understand, yielded so far as to go into the caucus in the expectation of being able to prevent the election of the Van Buren Speaker by requiring ⅔rds of the number to effect a nomination. The Van Buren men unexpectedly agreed to this proposition and obtained the majority required on the first vote:—thro' the aid, as Gen. Anderson who is here informed me, of three votes from your men, who from weakness dreamed of *conciliation* of the V. B. men to the last. Even our friend Lewis is charged with want of firmness in resisting the torrent, and did not, as he might have done, keep one or two of his delegation straight. Mr. Payne is the only name I recollect of the three, except Mr. Arrington, of No Carolina, who are said to have voted for Jones. It was now too late to retrieve the false step of going into Caucus at all, and all the officers fixed on by the V. B. men were elected.

Some indiscreet remarks by Mr. Belser, one of your friends from Alabama, to the effect that "constituted as the National Convention would be Mr. Calhoun's friends had not the slightest expectation of a nomination" have been the ground of the false representation by the correspondent of the Richmond Enquirer.

The result of all has been to place you in a false position and make the impression on the public that you were given up as a Candidate and that your friends were disposed to fall in with the current in favor of V. B. One or two only, I am told, are suspected of a disposition to fall down and worship

Moloch but the rest are deeply mortified at the course of events and now would be glad if they had taken a different stand in the beginning. You will see from the Spectator the turn which Rhett is endeavoring to give of the matter with a view to rectify public opinion in regard not only yourself but of your friends' disposition to give way to the violence and despotism of the Albany politicians. I have given it as my opinion, that something more was necessary than newspaper declarations, and that some of those known to possess your confidence should come out and in their own names and contradict the false representations of surrender on the part of your friends and that there should be a meeting of your friends and an expression of opinion given by it, which should relieve you from the false position in which they have placed you. 'Whether anything will be done or not I cannot even give an opinion, but I am rather disposed to think that some occasion, that may arise in some of the proceedings of Congress will be taken to set public opinion right. At first I was of opinion that you ought to come out in proper person and avow your opinions on the subject of a Convention, constituted as it evidently will be and the impossibility of your ever permitting your name to be placed before it or giving in any way your sanction to the protective doctrines of the Syracuse Convention, or their mode of forming a National Convention. I now think if this course had been firmly taken before the assembling of Congress it would have been best, as to do it now *immediately* would be attributed to the recent events. But my opinion now is that it would be best to wait until the Administration are prepared to make a communication to Congress on the subject of Texas, which Mr Upshur thinks will be in about three weeks, and then come out on all these grounds together.

With the last Gentleman I have had several free and most confidential communications, with permission however to communicate what I please to you. These communications have revived my hopes and put me in better spirits than when I wrote the enclosed letter. He, as well as all your friends, with whom I have conversed are of opinion, that convention nomination will still have such force, even in the Southern States as to preclude the hope, that a rally can be made

against Mr V.B. on the Anti-tariff protective principle alone, there are so many even of Southern men, who yield to the Doctrine of discrimination for incidental protection being admitted into a Revenue Tariff. It is necessary therefore to have some more exciting topic connected with it and this will be the Annexation of Texas.

In this opinion I concur, and think that your manifesto, whenever it shall come out, should embrace the three topics of Convention, Tariff and Texas.

Mr Upshur informs me—in the strictest confidence however except to you—that the terms of a treaty between him and the Texan Minister have already been agreed on and written out, and that the latter only waits for instructions from President Houston, which are expected in two or three weeks. But some of the suspicions of the treachery of this Houston, which you have seen circulated in the newspapers, it is feared, have some foundation and instructions may possibly be refused—in which case Mr U. thinks the Texan Minister, convinced as he is of the almost unanimous desire of the people of Texas to come into the Union, may be induced to sign a treaty without instructions and go home and throw himself on the protection of the People of Texas. The President is resolved that he will communicate such a treaty to the Congress, and if the Minister has not firmness to sign he will adopt some other mode of bringing the matter before Congress. Mr Upshur is of opinion that this is the only matter that will take sufficient hold of the feelings of the South, to rally it on a southern candidate and weaken Clay and Van Buren so much there as to bring the election into the House, where the Southern States would not dare to vote for Mr V. B. and C. This is the result I alluded too—as inspiring the only hope I now had—in the latter part of the enclosed letter. The President has some hopes that he may become that Southern Candidate. But Mr U. considers you as the only one that can be taken up and with a view to your availing yourself of the first moment, after the Executive communication to Congress on Texas, to place before the public your views on the question, that all, who concur with you, may at once rally upon you, you ought at once to write a letter as if in answer to one from myself making inquiries of

you as to your opinions on the subject, in case it should come up, which letter I should at once publish after the Communication by the Executive should be made,—for which purpose he would write me as to the time of coming over to Washington to have the letter published.

I beg to say, that I mention my own name as the person to be written to, simply because Mr Upshur did, tho' I think it would be better to choose some more conspicuous person for your correspondent. I will only add, that if you choose to address it to me, I beg you to believe I shall fear no consequences of proscription in consequence of my name being identified with this subject as well as the others I have above suggested to you to join with them—as it is possible may be the case with some of your more important and more ambitious friends, who I have heard with grief and mortification have yielded to the idea of your running on the ticket with V. B. as *Vice President*, in order to secure the successorship!!! The first wish of my heart is to see you President but I would rather see you lose a dozen Presidencies, were it possible, than to see the high honors of your great and pure name brought down so low and tarnished by such a polluting association. No: the more bold and lofty the ground you take the better and the better chance you will have [of] forming a rallying point in better times for the virtue of the country.

I had a number of other things to say, but the time has come for my going to the rail road by which I go to Annapolis this evening on my way home. General Anderson is here, who concurs in all my views and would have written to you but from an injury to his hand which disables him from doing it.

With kindest regards, with those of my daughter Mrs Markoe to Mrs Calhoun and yourself—I remain

faithfully yours

V. Maxcy.

From Thomas W. Gilmer.[1]

Washington Dec. 13, 1843.

My Dear Sir At the instance of a mutual friend I venture to drop you a line, not to speak of the chances, calculations,

[1] Original lent by Mrs. J. F. Calhoun. Printed once before, in Tyler's Letters and Times of the Tylers, II, 130. See Calhoun's reply of December 25.

and chapter of accidents of a presidental election, (for these I have very little appetite)—, but to remind you of a conversation we had nearly a year since on a subject, which, as I then predicted, is beginning to attract general and deserved attention. I allude to the annexation of Texas to our Union. I have not doubted for some time that this question would soon assume a practical shape and that its results would ultimately (if not immediately) enure to the peace, perma[ne]nce and prosperity of the Union. If the question were free from some prejudices (which by the way apply with equal force to a portion of the Union as it is) it would not be approached for a moment as one of only local importance. It is indeed a great American question and involves the first principle of American independence. The efforts of European powers which have been or may be made to establish an influence in Texas prejudicial to our commercial interests, and republican institutions, will probably aid in giving to this question a national aspect somewhat sooner than could be hoped from its intrinsic merits. You remember I asked you last winter to turn your mind to this subject in all its bearings and to be ready to meet it. As a Candidate for public favor, I would not have you or any other to be committed on this question in advance. I do not therefore approach you as one of those now in the public eye as candidates for the chief magistracy, but as an illustrious citizen, whose opinions would derive no additional force from any station, as I believe they would not be influenced by a desire to obtain it. I have no doubt you *have* bestowed much reflection on this particular subject. While I am not at liberty (nor am I informed) to speak of the precise state of this question at present, I will say to you that negotiations have been commenced, the object of which is to annex Texas to the Union. On a question of such magnitude, it is not meet, that a voice, which for more than thirty years has been heard with so much interest on all public questions, should be silent. I will esteem it a favor, and so will many others, if you will give us the benefit of your counsels now. They shall be regarded as confidential, if you chuse, or otherwise. You are familiar with the negotiations, correspondence, &c between our government and Spain from 1805 to 1819, with regard to the boundaries of Louisiana under the treaty with

France. The effect of annexation on the interests (domestic and foreign) of our country, however, is the point to which public attention will be chiefly directed. The test will be practically applied, whether the compromises of the constitution are to be regarded, or the union to be endangered by violating rights secured under the compact of 1787.

Excuse this liberty, I beg you, and allow me to subscribe myself

with sincere esteem and very high consideration

Your friend &c

THOMAS W. GILMER.

From R. M. T. Hunter. C. C.

(Private) Loyds Essex Decr. 19th 1843

MY DEAR SIR Since my last to you I have learned from Washington from a *source entirely reliable*, that a treaty for the annexation of Texas will probably be submitted to the Senate this Winter. Nothing but Houston's refusal can prevent it (as I am informed) and it is supposed that he *dare* not *refuse*. He will probably impose the condition upon the Texian minister that there shall be a probability of its ratification in our Senate. Van Zandt the present representative of Texas in Washington is anxious for the treaty and will probably be easy to satisfy that there is a chance for its ratification. These things I was requested to communicate to you concealing the name of my authority which is entirely unneccessary as you will readily guess it. It is thought to be a matter of great importance by the administration, as I suppose it is, to do all that is possible to secure the Senate. Of the effects of such a measure both as to principles and men you will be better able to judge than I can be. It will be something if we can really make an issue with the antislavery feeling and arouse the public mind to its importance. Can this be done? will not the Presidential Election absorb it and will not Ritchie et id omne genus do all that they can to give the question the "go by" and divert public attention from it? If it could be made one of the real issues of the day I think I foresee many consequences to flow from it which will be interesting to you

in more than the public point of view. Would it not force you again upon the theatre of public action let the question terminate as it might? Could the South look to any other man to conduct it through such a crisis?

I learn orally that the Ritchie wing of the Democracy affect to be anxious for you to be placed on the V B ticket as Vice President. Some of their papers hint at the same thing. Perhaps I ought not to make any conjectures as to the meaning of all this. I am too remote from the active theatre of public affairs to form reliable opinions, but I suspect that there is no friendly design in these *intimations*. Benton and Wright would neither be willing to see you V P and Ritchie would not move against their wishes. He would not elect you if you really desired it, (which I am far from presuming to be the case) if he could in any other manner secure V B. The danger I fear is to bring down upon you the jealousies of the other aspirants Johnson Buchanan Cass *Polk* &c &c and to prevent any combination between their friends and yours. The V B men begin to be afraid that they have pushed things too far in the recent organisation. Speaker printer clerk and even doorkeeper—all, all have they grasped and now frightened at the prospect of reaction they wish to soothe your friends by an act of pretended friendship which will at this hour render all the candidates for the V Presidency and all the expectants of the Presidency after the next term more jealous of you than of V B. They have coquetted with Polk until they have killed him and now they strike at higher game. Perhaps after all these suspicions are too refined. It may be that they really desire such a combination to secure V B's reelection but I doubt them.

The course of things in Washington has dispirited our friends at a distance very much. I have been asked the reason but having heard nothing from Lewis or Rhett since the commencement of the session I have nothing to give but surmises. I suppose that the friends of Buchanan and Johnson being unwilling to oppose the majority of the party in anything, our friends thought it useless and imprudent to make an unavailing contest and thus draw down upon themselves the whole odium of the division.

And yet as it is I fear their course has driven all the timid and wavering of our friends into the arms of Van Buren.

Unless some explosion should take place in Congress to arouse the South I fear that V B will get the nomination from a convention constituted on his own terms and I suppose the resistance which he will experience in the party will be rather passive than active. Such seems to me to be the present tendency of events. In this view of the case I look to the probable future course of public affairs with deep despondency. I have struggled for the South and for what I believed to be the true interest of my native state, not long it is true but through the best years of my life and I have had an uphill time of it even at home. I have not regarded the difficulty on my own account but it is a source of the deepest mortification to me to see the hands into which Virginia is about to fall.

I hope that your contemplated book goes bravely on and I assure you that I contemplate with the greatest pleasure the prospect of such a monument as I hope it will rear to your fame.

Yours truly

R M T HUNTER

The antislavery men in Washington are supposed to be in entire ignorance of the move in relation to Texas. Nor are there more than two men in Congress informed of the real state of the case. I mention these facts to you that you may be guarded in your communications to your friends. The Administration is anxious (I am informed) that nothing should be known of the movement in Washington until the Treaty is made.

From F. H. Elmore.[1] C. C.

Columbia 9 Jany 1843 [1844]

MY DEAR SIR I have just rec^d. yours of the 3rd. inst forwarded to me from Charleston. I have not been to the city since I met Lieut. Calhoun. I was taken next day with grippe

[1] The address discussed in this and several subsequent letters is that which is printed in Calhoun's Works, VI, 239-254. Upon it and the changes made in it, see, besides the ensuing letters, those of Calhoun dated December 22, 1843, and January 15, 1844, in Part I, *supra*.

and prostrated for several days and since then have been here much engaged in private affairs, which have harrassed me exceedingly and incapacitated me for almost everything. I, as soon as I was able to attend to it, inclosed your address to Co^{l}. J'on, Mr Gourdin and Mr Boyce. The two latter only were in town. M^{r}. Gourdin writes me that he took out and read letters from Genl M^{c}D and Mr Rhett to me after reading your address which has been submitted to the Delegation. They approve your withholding y^{r} name from the Convention and think you should publish the address with some modifications—what he does not say. I have a letter from Lewis of the same date as yours begging me earnestly, if your address is not published to stay till I hear from you as he had written very fully to you giving his views as to an important modification. I had in my letter to the Committee in Charleston taken the same view expressed by Mr Lewis. I send you as he requests his letter, begging you to send it back to me when you have read it—with your views. The address I expect to find in proof when I get down tomorrow. I wrote to M^{r}. G. that I hoped the Committee would be in the City by that time and we could have a meeting. His letter to me was dated the 6th. and mine in reply went next day to him. He told me that Mr Boyce was the only one of the Committee in the City since he rec^{d}. the address. He and Mr Boyce seemed to express the same opinions that Lewis has stated so strongly.

It will not I trust be out of place to express to you the impression made on my mind in one respect by the address. It is liable to be used by M^{r}. V B.'s friends to your disadvantage with the party and to be made the means of holding you up as the cause of that defeat which they are bringing on themselves. You know there are some of their Leaders who hate you and who have the control of their presses. No sense of justice or fairness will restrain them and the fire you have poured out upon their selfish unprincipled conduct and treachery they will convert into attacks on the Party, and before you and your friends can stem the torrent, they will have raised up such a current against you, that you will be discarded by thousands who are honest and who are truly your friends. The grounds you have taken in withdrawing your name from the Convention are such as your friends will sus-

tain in all their extent if you decide on them—and yet I think they would as far as I have the means of ascertaining, be more pleased that you should take a course which will not endanger you with the mass of the Democratic Party—one which will give you all the strength of your present course without subjecting you to any fair or plausible charge of having broken them down. The ground Lewis suggests I confess strikes me as the best and under my present opinions I think it would give you a position of great power—perhaps the intire Control of the matter.

Lt. Calhoun in some sort misapprehended me in one particular—the Tariff proceedings were only a part of developments subsequent to your writing which I thought might have commanded your attention—the Abolition and Texas questions were also referred to. They are every day assuming so important a position in politics, and the Course of certain of our professed friends has been such that they or the first of them at any rate, I thought should have been treated of in your address. I intended to have written to you next day, but the attack I was subjected to was first confined to my head and eyes and was so painful and depressing that I was unable to do anything and fearing too much delay as soon as I was able I inclosed the papers to the Committee for their action. This was prevented by the intire absence of the Committee.

I go down in the morning. A few days more will make no great difference and if I don't hear from you in consequence of Lewis' letter, (which I suppose you have had before this,) when I get down, I will propose to the Committee to wait even a few days more, having the address in type to be ready the moment we hear from you for any course.

I write this immediately on receiving yours and Mr. Lewis' letters to night, after a day of much fatigue and in so desultory a way as nothing but the urgency of the occasion will excuse.

If Mr. Clemsen is with you do say to him I will answer his letter from Charleston.

Yours truly

F. H. Elmore.

C. C.

From F. H. Elmore.

Jany 13, 1844

My Dear Sir I have but a moment to drop you a line. I will endeavor to morrow or next day to do more.

I was detained a day in Columbia longer than I expected when I wrote you by indisposition. I got down in miserable weather. I found no members of the Committee in Town except Mr. Bailey, Gourdin, Boyce and Frost. Genl Hamilton was here and I met Mr Bee on the road who told me of it. I saw him immediately, and last night we got all we could of the Committee with Gen. Hamilton, Mr. Furman, Mazyck and [Prioleau?] together and read your address. They were told of Mr. Lewis Letters and there were before them some recd. from other quarters. I send you one from Mr. Campbell,[1] and one from Genl Green. From McDuffie and Rhett we also heard. The substance of their letters was that beyond the So Ca Delegation and a very few others, to nominate and run you agst. the Baltimore Convention wd. produce such an irreconcileable breach with the Democrats that you would lose many very many of them who are warmly and truly yours. That you would lose in all respects a position which may yet be one of controlling power even on the adjustment of the Tariff at this Session. They do not say so but from the tenor of their letters I think both of them wd. rather that you should postpone the publication of your address until the Course of the party shall be more definitely fixed.

Of your friends here, none will fail to stand up to whatever Course you adopt. If you publish at once or postpone—as it is or with alterations I believe you may count on their standing by you. At the same time, however, they direct me to say to you that they feel a great reluctance to your taking any position, which is not necessary, that will cut you off from the next Canvass. They partake greatly of the feeling of Mr Campbell. They think if any act of Providence should before the election open a way to the Presidency for you, that you should not by any step not absolutely called for, put a barrier in your way. That if Mr V B is defeated, as he in

[1] Presumably John A. Campbell of Georgia. See his letters of November 20 and December 20, 1847, *post*.

all probability will be, that to you the party will surrender, if you have not before hand made that impossible—that in your hand they may be purified and victorious and that you with them may restore the purity of the Government. Under these Circumstances, five of the seven present, and Boyce to day added his vote, concurred in directing me to say to you that if you could reconcile to yourself to decide not to publish at present your reasons, but simply to withhold your name from the Convention, promising or not your reason hereafter, and stating that you would be governed by circumstances hereafter in their conduct as to your support of the Party, that it would perhaps be best. But as I said before, if you say otherwise the paper will be ready for the press the moment you say so.

If it is to be published they also suggest that you allow some of those portions which may be considered as bearing to strongly on individuals and the party where it will not weaken or alter the argument, and may prevent the misconceptions that your enemies will endeavor to circulate that your feelings have influenced your Course. The instance you alluded to as to Mr. Tazwells remark is one—there is one or two which Mr. Wright might feel and make the excuse for arraying hostility in the ranks of the party agt you. Will you My Dear Sir pardon us for the freedom we take and give some discretion to such of your friends here as you may designate to do this for you? I know it is a delicate point in us to interpose, but you may rest assured that it is only the strongest friendship that would *venture to ask for such responsibility*, and I would far rather that you should blame us than the *hopes of the whole South* and the Countrys welfare should be destroyed or even endangered. I must confess that the comparisons of opinions last night and the letters we have have even made me more fearful of the result and more anxious that you should think again before it is too late, if this movement may not be pretermitted or at least postponed.

I remain as ever Yours truly

F. H. Elmore

P. S. On one point more I was directed to say a word. If the Treasury Dept. is in a proper way tendered to you, that

you might accept it. By a proper way is understood such a way as would put the Gov^{t}. in your control. A year is a short lease, but in that time you could do much to give spread to your principles, exhibit your policy, see, and give consistency to the action of your friends—in short prepare a harvest hereafter without violating any of the rules you have prescribed for yourself as a public man.

C. C.

From Eustis Prescott.

New Orleans 15th. Janr^{y} 1844.

My Dear Sir You will undoubtedly ere this have seen the proceedings of our State convention, declaring that the first choice of the people of this state for President, is Mr Van Buren; my object in now addressing you is to express my firm conviction that such is not the fact, altho it is very difficult to ascertain popular feeling in so scattered a population, and I am confident that conventions are rarely fair exponents of the public will. One fact I have ascertained, that *you* are the first choice of a majority of the Democratic members of the Legislature, but I fear *they* have committed themselves by becoming members of this convention.

I have deprecated its action from the first, but could not persuade your friends, many of whom are as warm in their attachment to you as myself, from taking part in it. From the onset I have urged an appeal to the people in the Congressional Districts to elect delegates for each direct, to the National convention, but some of our friends could not be induced to deviate from the former practice of the party, and a few of them are Delegates,—instructed to cast their vote first for M^{r} V B and next for you.

The only good which the Convention has done for us, is an unanimous declaration in favor of our principles, and instructing the delegation to sustain them in the convention; if they do this manfully, as I know some of them will, it may produce discord, and change the aspect of affairs. I am satisfied that there is no cohesion between Northern and Southern Democrats, and that the friends of Free Trade will ultimately have to rally under their own flag, when they will receive

important strength from eastern whigs, as well as many, in the south and west.

I have taken some pains to ascertain the feeling in the parishes; in one, M^r V B had a majority of *one*, in a general meeting of the party, in another *two*, and in a third *four*, but in very few parishes was there even this test. . . .

Believe me to remain My Dear Sir Very sincerely your Obed^t Servt

EUSTIS PRESCOTT

From R. M. T. Hunter. C. C.

Loyds Essex Jany 19th. 1844

MY DEAR SIR I was very glad to receive your last letter and you were right in your conjecture as to the cause of my silence. I had so little that was pleasant to tell you that I had not the spirit to write. I did not go on to Washington to see your letter because I could not well leave home at that time and I supposed that it was in any event to be published as written. I am so remote from the scene of action that I should scarcely confide in my own opinion upon a subject of so much importance as that of your letter. I was not surprised to learn that you have refused to place your name before the Baltimore Convention. In your strictures upon its probable organisation I have no doubt but that I should concur. The course of the New York Democrats in the present congress deserves to be damned by every honest man in the country but I fear your motives would be misconstrued should you give utterance to such sentiments. Upon this matter however I cannot judge without seeing the letter as I know language to be the most flexible of human instruments as I have often heard you say and I know also that you have a mode of delivering truth without offending others which is almost peculiar to yourself. But I confess that I think it safest and most prudent that in this letter you should not give utterance to the idea of running a separate ticket for yourself. Under present circumstances I fear that as against the nominee of the Convention such a ticket would not receive a tithe of the votes of those who really prefer you. In this I

may err. I am not well informed as to the state of public sentiment and your judgment is much better than mine. You doubtless have considered the question. But I should dislike very much to see your name before the people and the state of S°. Carolina alone voting for you. Your popularity is worth preserving not only for your own sake but for that of the South. To whom else shall we look for a defender?

In the Congressional district in which I live we have succeeded so far in preventing the party from pledging itself to the nominee of the Baltimore Convention. But it is the only district in the state in which your friends have made an approach to a successful fight. How long they will hold out here I cannot tell as the people are fast coming to the conclusion that Mr V B's nomination is inevitable. In this state some of the leaders amongst your friends may hold off but the mass I think incline to support the nominee, not because he is the nominee of the Baltimore Convention but from their desire to defeat Clay. At the same time I believe that they will hold aloof from the Baltimore Convention. In our state Convention in Feby next the V B men will probably propose a pledge to support the nominee of the B Convenn. as a test of Democratic fellowship. If so there will be a split in the party in this state. Most of your friends will refuse any such pledge and attack the organisation of that convention. In that event a separate ticket will probably be run in this state. I was in Richmond ten days since. Some of the first young men in the state are warmly your friends—undecided as yet as to a separate ticket, but determined to refuse a pledge to the nominee should an attempt be made to exact it. Amongst these are Seddon[1] Giles (a son of Wm B Giles) and Corbie. Scott is an older man active able and zealous. Seddon I think inclines to a split. He says he would not propose it because he fears it would be fatal to your future prospects and he thinks it a question for your own decision only. Should you be willing to risk it he would not hold back. I have promised to attend the state convention. Our course is as yet undecided except as to refusing the pledge to sustain the Baltimore convention no matter how organised. Gordon

[1] See his letter of February 5, 1844, *post*.

and Taylor I am told will give such a pledge but your friends generally will not do it. We hope to have a general consultation amongst our friends at that time. Should the attempt be made to force this pledge from us we shall issue an address to the people of Virginia. It will be prepared for this contingency. Mr Ritchie is very angry and very arbitrary towards us at least his conduct would . I should be very glad to hear from you before this convention. To meet me in time your letter ought to be directed to me at Richmond under cover to James A. Seddon who will take care of it should it arrive before or after the Convention. Our friends in the Va. legislature will move resolutions on the subject of the Tariff, the 21st. rule and the negro petitions from the District of Columbia. I advised them to do so *at once.* They will move them without previous consultation with the V B democrats in Caucus. So much do they distrust them. Queries will probably be sent to Mr V B to ascertain his opinions upon the course of the N York Democrats in the present Congress.

Yours sincerely

R M T HUNTER.

From James Gadsden. C. C.

Charleston S C Jany 27-1844

MY DEAR SIR I have for the last 4 weeks been absent from the City on a visit to Florida. On my return on the 24 inst I heard for the first time the position in which you have been placed. If not anticipated, it was not unexpected. I have been among the few in this state, who have for the last 12 months looked upon the movements made on the political check board with very great distrust. Your resignation from the Senate I considered a mistake. To trust Van Buren and his corps of political plunderers was a still greater mistake. but to consent to go into convention with his division of assumed Democrats was a fault. The issue has been, as I expected, and how for us advocates of Free Trade to get back to the position we occupied some 12 or 18 months since I confess is beyond my ken. Prospects then looked encouraging.

We had a little band united and moving onward. But in an evil hour, You retired from the only position in which you could then aid our cause and the one you had so long battled for—and by intimating a willingness to ally with Traitors we have or may be made to suffer from their treachery. Indeed our Position is delicate. Professing to be Democrats we are accused of desertion of party; and that because we cannot carry our Candidate. Whatever the enlightened may think, the Mass believe that no other motive actuates Carolina but to carry her favourite, and that disappointed in securing his nomination before the Democratic convention, is the sole motive for refusing, if we do, going into that convention. You will understand me, I speak of what I hear, and having mingled much among the citizens South and West of late, I hear the above asserted in all quarters. It would not deter me however, any more than I know it will not you, for still adhering to our principles let the impugning of motives be what they may. But in adhering to we wish to see these principles triumph, and having got a check of late, it becomes a question of moment how can we recover our lost ground. Again rally our little Spartan band and move onward once more for victory.

As things now stand, we have nothing to do with the Presidential Election. Clay will be successful—but he is our open opponent. Van we cannot trust, and ought not to contribute to his success. Indeed our cause will ultimately be safer in his defeat than his election. Success will now secure the power to a party, indeed I may call it a faction, who have no principle to contend for: and who as you once said are held "together by the attractive cohesion of plunder." Alliance with them is death, their defeat is necessary to the ultimate triumph of our cause. But to succeed even hereafter, we must keep our force embodied and in the field, and encouraged with the hope yet of victory. To do this we must have a rallying point, and it is with no motive to flatter that on you and you alone can we rally or depend. You must return then to the Senate—There to keep before the Community and the Government our principles—and not permit our forces to be distributed between Clay and Vanburen, because they have no hope. It has been intimated that sh[d] Spencers place as

Sec^y of Treas^y be vacated, the tender will be made to you. Should this be the Case, I hope you will not hesitate in accepting. The Sec^y of the Treasury is at this time the Government. It is the place of all others which would enable you to bring before our People in bold relief those principles of free Trade for which we are contending. The shortness of Tylers administration may be an objection—not giving time for such a report and its circulation as would and must awaken the People of the U S. to their true interests. A People of all others most deeply interested in the success of free Trade. A Long session however, which now seems inevitable—would give you an opportunity and as Sec^y of the Treasury, with the whole government as completely at your disposal, as if you were President, you might, ere a new administration comes in make Such an impression as to force either who may obtain power to come to our principles. I really hope you may take the view I do, of this all engrossing subject, and will not reject the opportunity and the position, which seems to me of all others at this crisis best calculated to restore our forces to the place they have lost and to rally us with renewed hope and confidence in an ultimate triumph. If you do not—if you are resolved to remain in retirement, I fear nothing that you can do—no Manifestos or no communication from Pendleton will stir us up, but despairing, many like you will go into retirement, while others wanting firmness to fit the high places they occupy, will rally under a pretended democracy and join the assumed Whigs. We Free Traders will literally have no party and no leader, and without an army and a General what cause can expect to triumph. I have my Dear Sir for 18 months past looke[d] with such distrust on events and movements, that I have rather avoided taking any part in the political movements: and fearing what now seems inevitable, I was unwilling to be committed to a support of a Man in whom I never have had any trust, or to a party which he professes to represent. Indeed it did seem to me as if some of our friends were blindly sacrificing every thing for which they professed to battle. If with present prospects we must disband and await future times to rally, the cause of Free Trade is dead, and I must confess that if we have not the Spirit to resist the oppressive exactions on our industry

by the selfish restrictionists of the Country, I for one would convert these exactions to my benefit by demonstrating to the North that we have advantages in manufacturing &c fully equal to theirs: and that we may be both producers and manufacturers and enjoy the protection on both. But to return to the subject which has elicited these remarks—Let me have your views as to the future and say how or by what means are the Free Traders to be kept together and encouraged in future efforts in their cause if they have no rallying Point—No incentives to future action. To you we look, and I really hope that should Mr Tyler acknowledge his inability to govern, by virtually resigning the Government, you will not decline administering it—if it be but for the brief space of 12 months. It will give you time, at all events, to throw before the Public and in an official form, something to think on, which must produce action: and will at least prove to the nations abroad that there is a party and no inconsiderable one who will rally with them in the great cause. You well said once "Names are nothing things every thing." The Secretary of Treasury at this crisis is virtually the President, in the hands of one who understands the present condition of our Country and who comprehending its great interests will promote them without regard to sectional and selfish influences.

With a hope of hearing soon from you I remain as ever
Your friend

JAMES GADSDEN

From Francis Wharton. C. C.

Philadelphia, February 1st, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, You will receive by the present mail, or at all events very soon, the February number of the Democratic Review.[1] I have just glanced over the leading article, about which I have already spoken to you, but I can scarcely put it into your hands without expressing my sense of the inadequacy and feebleness of the tribute it bears. It may be of some use, however, among the class of politicians who have eyes, and

[1] See Calhoun's letters to Wharton, of February 4 and 22, in Part I, *supra*.

see not, and hearing, but do not understand. It may be that a few even of the narrowest of the Albany politicians, may be led to read it for the sake of the magazine in which it is contained, and may thus be obliged to stare full in the face at opinions from which they have always hidden and skulked. I hope and trust, and I take it that my trust is not in vain, that the day will soon come when hiding and skulking will be over. The worst sign I see now, is Mr. Buchanan's equivocations, both about the tariff and the presidency. The great danger is that a few designing manufacturers in this city and in the coal district, will succeed in placing the republican party in the state in a false attitude. Such a step would be attended with consequences almost fatal to our ultimate success, more however, from its reaction on the South, than from its local bearings. I am afraid that the friends of free trade in the South,—the *true* friends, by which I mean *your* friends,—will become disgusted with the vacillations and ignorance of many of our northern leaders, and will refuse to act in concert with them in matters of general policy. Be assured that a severance of the republican party will be now fatal. There is not one of our great measures which we can carry if we refuse to accept of the qualified aid of even the regency politicians. They offer us their hand under the proviso that they are not to go beyond a certain mark. Let us seize hold of it and see whether when we once get them out of their ambush, we may not commit them to the whole figure. Mr Van Buren himself is susceptible of being forced, on a great emergency, to go all lengths, as the sub-treasury measure showed. Let us get him out of his hole, and then when he is fairly uncovered, he will have to fight fairly, or run away. If he runs away, his apostacy will be notorious, and he will leave us the possession of the field undisputed, without the incumbrance of the feeble and treacherous alliance he has lately professed. If he really fights, he will fight in *our* cause, and for *our* victory. I am most anxious to see your expected letter. I trust and believe that nothing in it will have the tendency to exasperate the Northern section of the party. Withdrawal from the Baltimore convention I think is right, but I am most anxious that it should be such a withdrawal as will conciliate, and not repel, the aid of the

Democratic party in the North for the subsequent campaign. Mr V. B. is lost already—Pennsylvania is tottering,—the South is gone. If we kick him now, never will the jackalls who are awaiting the reorganization of the kitchen cabinet forgive us. I look upon the next election as his state funeral, and at such a ceremony, our attitude should be such as to avoid unnecessary offence to the mourners who will attend his interment. I cannot forbear therefore, repeating my hope,—a hope in which your friends here,—I wish they were as many as they are warm,—join to a man, that your position for [the] present may be such as to give the venomous and feelings of the Albany politicians no f[ield of exer]cise. If we would use them, as we hope to do, we [must] avoid ruffling them.

With great respect, I am Yours &c

FRANCIS WHARTON

From Benjamin F. Porter.[1] C. C.

Tuscaloosa 5 Feb. 1844.

DEAR SIR, I have been wishing for some time to address you, but desired, first, to see what course would be taken by your friends in this and other states. The tame submission of many upon whose firmness I relied much, to the action of the Convention, in Alabama, has given a plain indication of what may be expected in the course of the Baltimore convention. Had I been in this Convention, I would have firmly called upon your friends to secede, and led the way. But the resolutions of the Van Buren men to coerce, while still pretending to conciliate, to deceive us with frankness, were too well concocted to admit of opposition. You may have perceived that some of your friends in the convention, from different parts of the State, were selected as delegates and electors. I could have received this favor if I had chosen to connect it with promises of acquiescence in the action of the Convention: that is, take a Calhoun appointment with Van Buren instructions. I was sorry to see your friends submitting to this course. I should have indignantly rejected it.

[1] Benjamin F. Porter, born in South Carolina, was a prominent lawyer in Alabama.

The whole matter has, however, settled down to this, that Alabama must vote for Mr Van Buren. This proposition settles another, to wit, that after Mr Van Buren, she is bound to the succession of Mr Benton. I know the men here so well, who have originated and passed this affair, I know so perfectly the train of circumstances and motives and opinions of those concerned, as to see that this event is arranged.

Your friends here will take different steps. Some will support Mr Clay as the only course to secure a healthy action in Alabama: Some will remain neutral: Some support Mr Van Buren. Whatever direction I may give my own efforts, I pray you be assured, I shall neither abate a tittle of the general principles upon which I have endeavoured to extend your popularity in Alabama, nor cease to admire your public and private character.

The state of things in this state I have more than once endeavoured to inform you of; you will understand me when I say, the connection of one person with the Van Buren ticket, has effected these results. The men who to day reject you for Mr Van Buren, will to morrow set you aside for Mr Benton. Self interest is a powerful lever in the actions of men: And impels them to do often what conscience condemns. Foreseeing, as I think, the arrangements made here for the future, I shall feel it my duty to mingle with any honorable opposition to defeat it; looking to the virtue of the people, under the direction of Providence for the success of those main principles, on which rest the safety of our common Country.

For the kindness with which you have received my suggestions, I return my grateful thanks. My communications have been governed by motives of patriotism: And I hope the day is not distant when my Country will feel the same enthusiasm in the prospect of your elevation, that I do.

I need not say that this letter is considered due to my previous professions in your favor; and is written in the same confidence with which you have received my others.

Very respectfully Your Obt Sevt

BENJ. F. PORTER

From James A. Seddon.[1] C. C.

Richmond February 5th 1844

DEAR SIR Tho' not honored with your personal acquaintance I am induced to trespass on your indulgence in accordance with the request of Mr R. M. T. Hunter for the purpose of giving a brief explanation of the course pursued by your friends in the late Va Convention and the motives which induced it. This duty I am aware could have been much more appropriately and ably discharged by that Gentleman himself but that circumstances compelled him to leave the city before an opportunity was afforded him of Communicating with you except by a hasty letter. Premising that however unknown, in profound appreciation of your abilities and virtues and in sincere devotion to the great principles of which you are alike the best exponent and ablest Champion, I yield to no friend or adherent you have in this State, I shall proceed on my assumed duty in a Spirit of the fullest candor and freedom.

Your late letter reached here only the day before the session of our convention and it was immediately given the grave and anxious consideration of all your leading friends who had then reached the City. It was immediately perceived that the Juncture had arrived, when some decisive line of policy must be adopted, for the guidance of our friends in the approaching contest for the Presidency, and that on us had devolved the grave responsibility of determining it. With the noble boldness which has ever characterized your public Career, you had struck a heavy blow against the wretched system of Party organization and packed Conventions, by which public opinion had been so long, at the will of selfish cliques of interested partizans, either manufactured or smothered, but at the same time with no less generosity, had left to your friends the option of taking such course as they might deem under the circumstances most advisable. Even before the receipt of your letter we had become satisfied, and the report of our country friends as they came in confirmed the

[1] James A. Seddon (1815-1880) was subsequently a member of Congress from Virginia, 1845-47 and 1849-51, a member of the Peace Convention of 1861, and of the Confederate Congress, and Secretary of War in the Confederate Government from 1862 to 1865.

conviction that for the present the arts and machinery of party leaders here as in many other States of the Union had proved too strong for the cause of Truth and Merit, and that to persist in presenting your name as a Candidate for the Presidency at the next Election would almost certainly result in present failure and the utter sacrifice of your future prospects of enlisting the whole Republican Party. It was I believe certainly true that your friends held in this State at least the balance of power and might had they deemed it wise or politic have prevented the vote of V^a. from being cast for any other Republican Candidate—more they could not do, nor indeed could they have rallied one half of those who really entertained a decided preference for you over all Competitors, for such under the working of a corrupt System of party organization established for many years were the influences of hope and fear and the apprehensions of distraction and defeat, artfully induced and pressed on the minds of the people, that in a "triangular contest," a large proportion of your friends would have been seduced or drawn from your support to that of the competitor sanctioned by the corrupt usages of the party. Such a result, deemed by us inevitable, would have been most unfortunate both for your own future prospects, with the promotion of which the best interests of the Country are identified, and the State rights party of which you are the acknowledged leader. Ever afterwards, that result would have been considered as exhibiting the strength both of yourself and your cause, and such conviction however untrue would have been productive alike of mortification and of serious mischief in the future struggles of parties. It was not to be disguised either that notwithstanding the truckling and disgraceful course so justly rebuked by you of a portion of the Northern Democrats on the questions vital to the South of the Tariff and Abolition, a great majority of your friends in this State thought much was to be gained in a contest between Mr Clay and any Democratic Candidate by the election of the latter, and much reluctance was felt to pressing any third Candidate, even yourself, to the extent of destroying the ascendancy of the Democratic party and ensuring the triumph of the Whigs.

We all felt likewise that in the event of your being pressed as a Candidate and the Democratic party sustaining defeat, the

whole odium of the result would be dextrously cast on you and your friends and your own weight and efficiency in the party as well as the great good to be obtained by the whole Country from your future elevation would be utterly lost—perhaps forever. Neither we your friends, nor the South could endanger or sacrifice you, for so long as you remain as a rallying point and stand ready as a leader we can inspire apprehensions and enforce respect and protection of our rights. We also felt that under the stalwart blow you had given to the oligarchy of political Intriguers and their infamous Machinery, they must totter, and that if time were given for the inculcation of the views of your letter, sanctioned by the full weight of your character as one of the undoubted leaders of the party, and weakened by no suspicion of personal ends, and especially if the whole prostituted press of the Party (the Richmond Enquirer among them) could be muzzled against attack upon them or their author, they must be in another contest with you as a leader, utterly subverted. This was an end of immense importance, involving restoration of purity in the practical exercise of the elective franchise and release from infamous party thraldom to the country and ourselves, and to attain it, we were willing to make some sacrifice.

All these considerations, as you will readily perceive my dear Sir, inclined most of your friends to acquiesce in the painful necessity of relinquishing for the present the cherished hopes of elevating you for the Presidency, but opposed to such a course were all the predilections of our nature; our deep and ardent admiration of your talents, our devotion to your principles and Character. In this struggle I for one and many others with me were willing to have risked all, cheerfully resigned every personal aspiration and be content to fall battling for our principles and our choice, and would have done so but that similar considerations themselves forbade that we should by abuse of your own generous permission to use your name peril the ultimate attainment of the destiny for which you were intended and cut off all the immense advantages to the South and the union which we believe would result from your administration of the government at a future day. These latter considerations, I believe I may safely

assure you alone prevailed with the mass of your friends, whose feelings might else have proved too strong for the sole convictions of Judgment.

In accordance with the views above were the resolves of a meeting of your friends Delegates to the Convention and members of the Legislature, held at my rooms on the night of the receipt of your letter. They determined to attend the Convention and when there to require and obtain the adoption and recognition in full of the soundest State rights principles upon all the questions in agitation in the Country (including the Tariff and abolition questions) as constituting the creed of the whole party in the State, and that such principles in all their extent should be pressed with all the influence of V^a on the whole party of the Union. That those principles having been fully sanctioned, we should withdraw your name as our Candidate and issue an address (separate from that of the Convention) announcing our solemn convictions against the proposed constitution and organization of the National Convention and assailing it in the ablest manner we could, but at the same time consenting not to press the decision of that issue at this time in consequence of the danger of division to the party and success to our opponents thereupon. In this address, we also determined to rest our support of the Candidate of the Republican Party not upon the nomination, but treating that as an objection, upon its apparent necessity under the peculiar circumstances of the time, provided we could feel assured by the pledges of the Candidate or the action of those who supported and nominated him that by his election we should promote the principles expounded in the resolutions of the Convention. These wishes of your friends were frankly made known by a Committee appointed for the purpose to the leading adherents of M^r. V. Buren, and they were received in a spirit of ready acquiescence that disclosed the seriousness of their previous apprehensions. An informal understanding was then had that our resolutions avowing the principles of the party should be adopted fully. That no pledges to sustain the Convention or vote for the Nominee should be exacted. That our address should be issued and opposition to the Convention aroused without severance of the party, Exclusion from its communion, or censure imputed to the principles of your let-

ter,—Your course or our own. Upon this basis, the proceedings of the Convention were concluded smoothly and harmoniously. Our demands were complied with and in effect we controlled tho' we could not command the Convention. At the same time the best spirit prevailed, especially toward yourself. The merit of your withdrawal and the sacrifice made by your friends redounded to your elevation in the confidence and affections of the whole party. The secret feelings of many, heretofore smothered by party influences, burst forth in your favor, and with it cooperated the gratitude of Mr V B's blindest partizans, so that I am thoroughly convinced at no previous time have you ever been more securely fixed in the esteem and confidence of the Republican Party of Va. This fortunate state of things must daily be enhanced. Your friends, constituting most of the speakers of the party, will conduct (as indeed all the Republican speakers from the adoption of the resolutions by the Convention will be forced to do also) the canvass on your Principles. Your authority, your arguments must be duly avouched and familiarized to the people, and now that all personal motives of detraction are removed, your character will be more highly appreciated and your services and labors more justly estimated than ever heretofore. From all these causes many just auguries may be adduced of the course of future events, and if the firm resolves and best exertions of a host of able friends can aid their realization, they shall certainly be so wrought out as to fill the measure of your honors, which now fall short only of your fame. To yourself who have already done enough for glory to your name and state this may be a matter of comparative indifference, but to your friends, it must constitute a matter of deep anxiety and lively anticipation, and to none more truly than to

Yours with Sentiments of unfeigned esteem

JAMES A SEDDON

From R. M. T. Hunter. C. C.

Lloyds Essex County Feby 6 1844

MY DEAR SIR I addressed you a hasty note before leaving Richmond to advise you in part of the motives of your friends

in the V^a Convention. Before this reaches you I hope you will have seen our address as it is expected to appear in the Republican this morning. Your letter reached us the morning before the Convention in the Mercury. The same paper contained an editorial taking your name from the head of its column and announcing the terms upon which the candidate of the Dem: party might receive the suffrages of S°. C^a. So at least we understood it. Under the circumstances to have nominated you would have been a great injustice as we believe to your fame and popularity. Such a ticket would not have received near all of those who really prefer you. To have assumed a neutral position would have disbanded your friends. The mass would have divided, some voting for Clay but more voting for V B or whoever is the candidate. The object was to take such a course as we believed would most advance your popularity and our common principles. We determined to issue an address taking our position against the Baltimore Convention, announcing our intention to support the candidate of the party if we could promote the principles of the Dem Rep party as announced in the *resolutions of our convention* which you will perceive are *good principles* and leaving it undetermined what we would do in the other event. Such seemed to be the position of the Mercury, which seemed to us the true position. Our object was to drive the friends of M^r V B as far [as] possible on the right line and to maintain and advance your popularity in the party. It was distinctly understood with Ritchie that there was to be no attack on you or your letter, and I publicly told him that if the issue should be disastrous to the South the *responsibility* would rest upon him and M^r V B's southern friends who had insisted upon him. In the private meeting your friends determined upon preserving their organisation and upon presenting your name immediately after the next presidential canvass was over without regard to conventions, unless they would give us such organisation as we claimed in justice. In the meantime we have determined to use every means to increase your strength and extend your popularity. Our object was to bring you in next time if you would permit it and to raise up a Southern party upon true and Southern principles. You will see the bearing our address has upon this point. When the con

vention adjourned many very many of the supporters of V B assured us of their determination to support you next time. They said our course had strengthened you and that the party would be disgraced if it did not take you up on the next occasion. Mr Ritchie assured me privately and in confidence that he had seen lately letters from V B which would satisfy me and the South as to his disposition upon every point. I did not see those letters and therefore cannot vouch for their existence. He pledged himself to use all the means short of actually renouncing V B to drive his friends to the right line of action and that he thought our course would be useful to this end. What he will do I know not. But we have a position in the party which will make it a matter of political life or death with him to do so. Your friends I believe were actuated by a most sincere desire to raise your name and popularity and to preserve a position in which they could defend your principles and the South. I do believe that our movement will make you the strongest man in Virginia should it not be disapproved by yourself. We also considered its effects upon the South and our principles. to have supported Clay would have been utterly inconsistent and ruinous. to have remained neutral would have destroyed the leaders and disbanded the mass of your friends. nothing was left us but to declare our determination to go in with the Democrats if we could promote our principles by doing so and to throw the responsibility of selecting V B upon those men in the North who have forced him upon us. What shall we effect by it? We shall put an end to such national conventions as have heretofore been organised. We have induced the *whole party* in Va to adopt the resolutions which express your principles, we have I believe greatly strengthened you in Virginia and I hope in the union and we have preserved a position in the mass which will enable us I think to force the quondam leaders to go on properly or else *break them down.* If Mr Clay had been elected through the neutrality or with the active cooperation of your friends it would have been destruction to you and them. If he should now be elected the Dem party must rally upon you next time. at any rate we have a position in which we can better unite the South upon your principles. The movements as have [been] taken

in all their attending circumstances have been amongst the most painful of my life—I need not say why. I never was more decided in my life as to the propriety of the course. The apprehension has been lest you should disapprove it. I most earnestly trust not. Should you do so, my position will be painful indeed. In the meeting of our friends, I told them I was governed entirely by your public letter which they had seen and my own views of what was proper. That I did not even know what course you would desire us to pursue, but that I felt to run you under such circumstances would have been cruel injustice towards you. That I knew you would be perfectly willing to the sacrifice if you thought our common principles would be advanced by it. But ought we to be willing to ask such a sacrifice? I think they were all of opinion that such an idea was not to be entertained. You will perceive that your friends have prominent positions on the electoral ticket. I did not advise this course. But as every other in the private meeting seemed to think it highly important, I did not express my doubts. They offered me the post of elector which I declined. They then appointed me an assistant without my knowledge. I left a letter in Richmond declining this also. My doubts were as to the chance of our prominent friends becoming real V B men from the habit of defending him. But when it was determined to be important that they should take their posts I then suggested (and it was so understood) that your friends on the ticket would take the ground that the resolutions of the convention (expressing in fact your principles and drawn by your friends) should be held up as the party creed, that the Whigs and their candidate should be attacked for their opposition to this creed and that the Dem Candidate should be defended where he approached the creed more nearly than the Whig, and that no departure from it in him should [be] justified.

Before seeing your letter I had prepared an address in the event that the V B should present as a test a resolution pledging us to the nominee. They offered none such and in some respects it was changed. The arguments against the Baltimore Convention and on the true position of V^a^. was from myself, the three first and the three or four last pages in the manuscript were from Seddon. After our course was taken

and shortly before the convention adjourned a letter reached Greenhow from Duff Green urging us to nominate you on a separate ticket. Our course had been previously taken, nor did we presume that he was acting under your advice as the Mercury had taken down your name and as we thought too that such an act would be ruinous to you, as it would close your political life under appearances which would do the greatest injustice to your real popularity and estimation amongst the people, and which would be false if taken by posterity (as they would be) as evidences of your true strength and popularity.

I shall look with great anxiety for a letter from you. if we have done wrong let us know it and if the error is of a character to be repaired tell us how. If you should disapprove our course because you apprehend disastrous consequences to ourselves we are willing to meet them and encountor all the hasards. Should you disapprove however because you think the course may be injurious to you we should be grieved indeed. Our position was difficult and painful. The exhibitions of feeling on the part of your friends were deep and nothing I believe restrained them but the fear of injuring you and the settled determination to make you the President next time should God spare you to us so long. If our course should be approved by yourself and friends elsewhere I believe we can do it.

I am my dear Sir most truly yours

R M T HUNTER.

From Friedrich Ludwig von Roenne.[1] C. C.

Berlin February 13th 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, Mr. von Raumer, the celebrated historian, who will have the honor to hand these lines to you, is about to visit the United States. He is most anxious to make the acquaintance of one who stands so prominent in the United

[1] Friedrich Ludwig von Roenne (1798-1865) was Prussian minister at Washington from 1834 to 1843, arbitrator between Mexico and the United States in 1839 and 1840. He was president of the Handelsamt from 1844 to 1848, a member of the Frankfort Parliament in the latter year, German minister at Washington in the two years succeeding, and afterwards a prominent member of the Prussian Diet.

States and whose life must afford a double interest to an historian like Mr von Raumer. I need not tell you that he is full of admiration for you—how could it be otherwise! The great kindness which you have always shown me, makes me hope, that you will kindly receive Mr von Raumer. My love and esteem for you will never cease, believe me ever most truly and sincerely

your most obdt servt

ROENNE.

From George McDuffie.[1] C. C.

Washington, 22nd Feb: 1844.[2]

MY DEAR SIR: Our friend Judge Huger,—as he will inform you by a letter which will go by the mail which carries this[3]—has come to a very decided conclusion in his own mind, that the political circumstances of the country are such as demand your services in the Senate. Prompted, therefore, by that perfect self-devotion to South Carolina and the whole country, which has so prominently distinguished his course, he proposes to resign his seat immediately, if you will consent to take his place. He entertains no doubt that the Governor would appoint you, as a matter of course, upon being assured of your acceptance, and considers it your duty not to withhold your services in the existing emergency, so deeply involving the interests of all the slave holding states on two great and vital questions. At his request I shall write to Governor Hammond confidentially on the subject, and shall expect an answer from him by the time yours may be received. I will add that I know that Judge Huger would feel it a personal gratification to be assured that such an arrangement would be agreeable to you. Permit me then to suggest that you at least go as far as to say, that if Judge Huger is determined to resign and the Governor should tender you the appointment, it will not be declined. We have a reasonable prospect of reducing the tariff very nearly to the average

[1] George McDuffie (as to whom see a note to Calhoun's letter of June 18, 1822) was at this time Senator from South Carolina.

[2] The accident on board the *Princeton* occurred this day.

[3] On Calhoun's reply, see his letter of March 5, 1844, in Part I, *supra*

of the compromise, with specific duties of 20s a ton on iron and 2s a hundred on sugar, as the only specific duties and no other above 30 pr ct on the foreign cost. My best respects to Mrs. C. and the family.

Sincerely your friend:

GEO: McDUFFIE.

P. S. Judge Huger has been quite unwell for a week or ten days but is now much better. This matter should be kept secret of course at present.

From Francis W. Pickens. C. C.

Charleston 3. March 1844.

MY DEAR SIR I came here and found things in much confusion. I think your immediate friends in this city managed very badly, and the country gentlemen were very much excited (many of them being in to the races). I called a meeting or caucus to consult together. Elmore introduced resolutions—which I did not approve, and I moved a substitute and carried them. The main point of which was that 1st. we should not go to the Balt. Con. and 2d. that your friends should distinctly hold your name in reserve and under control, and that it might be our sacred duty to vote for you finally. &c. &c. Upon consultation I found that we had to tamper a little at present as to the Convention, for fear small meetings would be forced up in places to appoint delegates as from the people &c. So we called a meeting of the Con. for the 18 March, so that we could gain time and the developements in Congress, and by then there would be no question as to our course in the State. It was suggested by Elmore that we might find it politic to go into Convention as to the future &c. but I said this was folly and they would laugh at us as their victims, and that our keeping out would produce no impression in two years time however much they might pretend to be offended now.

The great difficulty was to get your name back again. You see the article in the Mercury yesterday (Saturday). It was presented to me and was drawn up to meet the general views of my resolutions in Caucus. It does so but with more policy,

as they say to prevent a meeting in this city to be called immediately by Pinckney. They say the meeting is now killed, but I tell them if he calls one, let our friends attend and either move to lay on the table and adjourn or vote down the resolutions. I think there has been some bad moves and I hope it has been from bad judgement rather than from any thing else. M^c^Duffie has written that every thing will be done for us that we desire on the Tariff &c. So writes Rhett and Lewis. But Holmes writes differently. I fear M^c^Duffie has been imposed on.

You see the dreadful accident at Washington and deaths.[1] I hear some of our members have written today here that I am to be offered a place in the Cabinet &c.—but of course this must be premature, and even if so, I shall refuse.

In haste, but truly

F. W. PICKENS.

From George McDuffie.[2] C. C.

Washington, 5th March 1844.

MY DEAR SIR: I write this merely to say that I have had an interview with the President to day, at M^r^. Wise's request, on the subject of your acceptance of the appointment of Secretary of State. The President is very anxious that you should accept and come on immediately, as the Texas negociation admits of no delay, and requested me to say so to you. The moment you communicate your willingness to do so, your name will be sent in to the Senate, and I, therefore, wish you to write to me immediately. I now repeat the opinion I expressed in my last, that it is my decided opinion and that of your friends here that your acceptance would be regarded by the country as a magnanimous offering at the shrine of patriotism, and that you ought not to hesitate. I mention to you in confidence that the Texas question is in such a state, that in ten days after your arrival the Treaty of annexation, would be signed, and from poor Upshur's count 40 senators would vote for it. The President says he has hopes of the

[1] The accident on board the *Princeton*.

[2] For the curious relations of this letter to Calhoun's nomination, see Wise's Seven Decades of the Union, 221, and Tyler's Letters and Times of the Tylers, II, 294.

acquiescence of Mexico. It is a great occasion involving the peace of the country and the salvation of the South, and your friends here have ventured to say for you, that no party or personal considerations would prevent you from meeting the crisis.

Very sincerely yours,

GEO: McDUFFIE.

From Dixon H. Lewis.[1] C. C.

House of Reps, March 6th 1844.

MY DEAR SIR—I have just heard in a manner, which leaves no room to doubt its correctness, that your name has been to day sent to the Senate, as the Successor of Mr. Upshur to the Office of Secretary of State, and that the name of John Y. Mason of Virginia has also been sent in as the successor of Mr. Gilmer in the Navy Department.

In effecting this result, your friends here have had no agency, and are in no way responsible. Many of them were unconsulted and entirely ignorant in relation to it, untill the rumour has this moment reached this House. Others have in reply to the general designation of your name to the station, expressed doubts whether you would accept it. So far as I know or believe none have solicited the place for you. In reply to frequent enquiries addressed to me, as to whether you would accept—(enquiries in some instances coming from those, who I supposed had the ear of Mr Tyler) my uniform reply has been—that if it were a mere question of whether you would accept the office of Secretary of State under Mr. Tyler, I did not believe you would accept of a station, which could confer no honour on you, and which would consume much of your time at an advanced age, which would not likely be requited either by an advancement of your own reputation, or the interests of the country, but if by the death of Mr. Upshur and the State of the Texas and Oregon questions, there was an exigency which required your services, I knew you too well to doubt that considerations of duty and patriot-

[1] Dixon H. Lewis (1802-1848) represented Alabama in the House of Representatives from 1829 to 1844. In May, subsequent to the writing of this letter, he was appointed to the United States Senate, in which he served till his death.

ism would control you in this, as I believed it had on all other questions—and that at any personal sacrifice you would accept. This opinion so often expressed, contains my deliberate view not only of what you *will* but what you *ought* to do in this matter. I am of course ignorant of the true state of both the above mentioned questions, but I take it for granted that Mr. Tyler will disclose to you fully their actual state. If I am not mistaken in my conjectures, the Texas question has already been reduced to a Treaty, waiting only to be submitted to, and receive the confirmation of the Senate. The opinion of *all* is, that the question is imminent, and in the present condition of the Country, to confirm a Treaty at all, and to do it under circumstances which will not involve us in a double war with Mexico [and] Great Britain, will be a most difficult matter. If the Treaty be rejected, I consider the Union at an end. It may not at once suffer absolute disruption, but the interests and sympathies of a large portion of the Union must be stronger in favour of an Union with Texas, than with a confederacy, which in the midst of unceasing plunder by Taxation, is waging a relentless war against their Institutions, and making those Institutions the avowed ground of objection to a political Union with those who in every other respect are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh.

In this view of the question, in the opinion of all, it is important that the question should be under the charge of one having the confidence of every party, both for intelligence and patriotism. I have taken some pains to ascertain the state of public feeling, and I am glad to say, that I have never seen stronger evidences of *complete unanimity* on any public question, than that you are the man, and as most of them say, the only man to meet the crisis. The rumour of your nomination at once created here, a great stir. Men neglectful of business were talking about in groups. I left my seat to gather public opinion. I heard a general expression not only of approval but of satisfaction. Many in their anxiety urged me to write, and beg you to accept. Payne of Alabama, says "Accept by all means, to meet a great crisis, but to base your acceptance on that crisis and to limit your acceptance to the crisis." I think your acceptance ought to be put on that high ground, and that your continuance though not strictly limited

by it, ought not to be much beyond the period you are actually and necessarily engaged in what all consider, the *extraordinary* duties of the Station. I take it for granted Tyler will give you a *carte blanche* as to the two great questions.

While writing Blair has come to my seat and asked me good naturedly what I was doing. I answered that I was writing to you. He said he had come to beg me by all means to earnestly advise you to accept. He says he goes his death for Texas and wants you to manage the matter, that you are the man, and that you have the confidence of all parties. He said further that by taking this position you would build up a reputation with the Democratic Party which would make you impregnable at another time. He evidently however betrayed a little anxiety that in your position you should do nothing to weaken and divide the Party, as he expressed it, but which of course meant, to dislodge Mr Van Buren. I give you this for what it is worth. Dr Martin is in ecstacy at your appointment, and comes to tell me that Joe Gales[1] has just said to him, that the appointment meets his entire approbation. The Whigs all say so.

I have written this to give you a better idea of the state of feeling. The Senate have just confirmed your appointment unanimously without referring it to a Committee. Everybody is delighted and are expressing themselves so. The evidences are so strong it is needless for me to write more.

I must however say that this matter proves the truth of what I wrote you before this winter, that you have a strength and consideration in the Democratic Party which should prevent you from doing any act which would separate you from that Party. The extent of this feeling was never so obvious as now. Men are expressing themselves without reserve and it is almost universal even among those whom party machinery have unwillingly united to Mr Van Buren. The Leaders I have no doubt dislike you and dread you and this day has been a dark one to them, but of the Van Buren men as they are called numbering a *majority* of this House, I believe that three fourths of them are more friendly to you than to him and if left free would rather run you as the Candidate. The other

[1] Of the National Intelligencer.

fourth are however so bitter that I believe that in no event could they be brought to support you, and therefore I am for not risking your name in a contest in which I fear a majority of the voters are already inclined to Clay even if V. Buren's friends are wise enough to back out from him. Still I agree with the opinion expressed so often to day that in the position you are about to occupy, you can place yourself in a position which will make you unpregnable in 1848. It may be however that a ground swell from the people themselves growing out of the Texas question may roll you into the position of a Candidate. If so no one would be more delighted than myself, but I mean to say that no action in my opinion on the part of yourself or your friends ought now to look to that result. Let Van run and be beaten as he *certainly* will and then the Party will be purified of him and his clique. Let them be forced to withdraw him and run an indifferent man and then his organization is destroyed and you must be the man four years hence.

These are my views given to you to cover every aspect of the question as to your acceptance. If the *occasion* calls to your services, accept. If not, decline but in any event look to the effect which your course may have on a popularity in the Democratic Party, which will at another time prove stronger than a corrupt Party organization which manacles your friends at present, but which has received its death wound by your withdrawing from the Convention, and which will be doubly killed and damned by the certain defeat of V. Buren Benton &c. in the coming election.

I am truly your friend,

DIXON H. LEWIS.

From John Tyler. C. C.

(Confidential) Washington, March 6th 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, After a free and frank conversation with our friends, Governor McDuffie and Mr Holmes of South Carolina, and in full view of the important negociation now pending between us and foreign Governments, I have unhesitatingly nominated you this day as Secretary of State in place of my much lamented friend, Judge Upshur. I have been prompted to this course by reference to your great talents

and deservedly high standing with the Country at large. We have reached a great crisis in the condition of public affairs, which, I trust, will assume the place of a commanding epoch in our Country's history. The annexation of Texas to the Union, and the settlement of the Oregon question on a satisfactory basis, are the great ends to be accomplished: The first is in the act of competition and will admit of no delay. The last had but barely opened, when death snatched from me my lamented friend. Do I expect too much of you when I, along with others, anticipate at your hands, a ready acquiescence in meeting my wishes, by coming to the aid of the Country at this important period?

While your name was before the Country, as a prominent Candidate for the Presidency, I could not have urged this request without committing alike an offence to yourself and many others; but now, since your friends have withdrawn your name from that exciting canvass, I feel it every way due to the Country to seek to avail myself, in the administration of public affairs, of your high and exalted talents.

I hope the action of the Senate will be as prompt as my own, and that you will immediately be at my side.

JOHN TYLER.

From Francis Wharton. C. C.

Philadelphia, March 8th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, The news of your appointment and confirmation as Secretary of State has just reached Philadelphia, and I am going to take the liberty of telling you that the hope and trust of your friends in this section of the country is that you should accept the appointment. Independently of the conviction that no other than a master mind can adjust the Oregon negotiation,—that such a labour requires the whole of that great intellect which can only be found in two men of the country of whom you are one,—that there is but one man who can unite to such an intellect a character which precludes the supposition of fear, favour, and affection, and that that man is yourself,—independently, I say, of such reasons, I cannot doubt that your appearance once more in public life,

in a catholic attitude, will awaken in the men of the middle and northern states, the feelings of pride and attachment with which they looked upon you in 1812 and 1816. The parenthesis of nullification,—misunderstood as it is by the great majority at the North,—will be merged, even in minds of the most prejudiced, into the whole context of your history. Believe me, looking at you once more as the representative of the Union as a whole will open the old fountains of affection. There was a time when Pennsylvania would have voted for you by acclamation,—that time may come again. I may be sanguine, but who would not be sanguine when so great a consummation as the restoration of the North to the true republican creed, has become for the first time for twenty years probable? The Secretaryship of War made you the second man in the affections of the nation: the Secretaryship of State will make you the first.

With great respect I remain yours,

FRANCIS WHARTON.

From Fitzwilliam Byrdsall. C. C.

New York March 18th. 1844.

(Confidential)

MY DEAR SIR The Enclosed you will please hand to Mr. Calhoun when he arrives in Washington. Should he however not accept the appointment of Secretary of State, you will please forward the enclosed to him, as a testimony that his friends here will support him in any political station he may be in, so long as he is an exponent and a Vindicator of those principles we cherish, and which lie at the foundation of our political fabric.

You will please read them, i. e. the enclosed proceedings of the Calhoun Central Committee of New York. They were passed unanimously after some opposition. We have here some good and true Calhoun men of the State rights breed. Permit me to say that you and some others at Washington were rather imposed on by the Scovil tribe.

We hold it a matter of propriety to advance to the support of Mr. Calhoun even in anticipation of his acceptance of the

premiership. We wish him to know when he arrives in Washington that his friends in New York are ready, aye ready to stand by him in any department of Government. It is something of a proof of our estimation of him that while east west and south of us, some have fallen and others have bent down before Van Buren yet that we in this city with three administrations (United States, State and city) against us have stood firm and uncompromising, almost alone defying the party organization in its strongest Citadel.

Never had so strong a man such weak partizans as Mr. Calhoun's Southern friends with a few exceptions. I say weak because of their want of energy and perseverance in the cause. Had they arose with enthusiasm and activity and spoken with determination to the people of the North East and West such confidence would have been given to his friends in Maine, Mass. N. H. and Con. as well as in the Western States as would have elected other delegates to the Baltimore Convention. To no movement of his friends here has the South responded. Languor and laziness is doing the destiny of the South. She is now compelled to compromise her Candidate for the sake of Tariff and twenty first rule. Power never shews justice or magnanimity to the opponent who is not in a formidable position nor to the rebell who indicates his weakness by grounding his arms and trusting to the fairness of those who have the power in their hands.

I shall be much pleased at Mr. Calhoun's acceptance of the premiership provided he shall be able to settle the Oregon Question and the annexation of Texas. If he shall acquire additional reputation on these subjects, he may yet be president but not otherwise, for the South cant, because it wont go through the necessary exertion.

As regards the tariff that is sure to come right in a few years because the agricultural population of the north and West are beginning to find it is not profitable to them. As to Texas the people who gave twenty millions for Louisiana and five millions for Florida will undoubtedly take Texas without cost. It is not in the race of Anglo Saxon Land robbers to refuse that which of all other things is the object of the master passion of the race. There may be some talking on the subject on the score of Abolition, but American aboli-

tion is about equal to British justice always a tremendous affaire when it costs nothing but display. The best way to argue with these hypocrites is to give them trouble about their own institutions. Titles or rights to Slaves are as good as titles to lands—both are creations of human law. Why not have petitions for the abolition of land titles?

Write me frequently. I am well acquainted with men and things here.

Yours Respfy

F. BYRDSALL

From Wilson Lumpkin. C. C.

Athens March 23d, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR That the destiny of men and nations are under the controuling influence of an *All-wise* Providence, has long since been one of the settled *Tenets* of my *faith.* And it is thus that I account for your being placed in the position which you now occupy in connection with the great interests of our beloved Country. I know that your present position has not been anticipated by you, or your friends. I hope, trust and believe, that the recent changes, however deeply mingled with calamity, woe and regret, may be overruled for the good of our Country. At this particular juncture, your post is the most important one under the government.

Upon an enlarged consideration, of the permanent interest of our Confederacy,—We have nothing at this time of equal importance to that of the great Territorial questions, of *Texas and Orrigon.* Upon these questions I entertain no doubt of the correctness of your views, as well as of the views of President Tyler. And therefore trust you may be the honored instruments of bringing these vexed questions to a happy and successful issue. As regards the adjustment of the Orrigon question, you know and will do what is best to be done on that Subject.

Upon the subject of *Texas*, allow me to say that country must speedily become a part and portion of our great confederacy—or the abolition spirit will destroy our beloved institutions. The peaceable acquisition of Texas will go further

to ensure and perpetuate the general welfare and permanent Union of our Confederacy than any thing which has transpired since the acquisition of Louisiana. I have no special knowledge of the exact relation of things touching this subject at present. I have, however, a very accurate knowledge of a large number of the leading and most influential men of Texas, and of the true character and feelings of the great body of the population of that Country. My eldest son emigrated to that Country about 10 years ago, and has continued to live there ever since. He has a wife and children, is a steady sensible, educated man—and has several times been a member of the Legislature of Texas. I am intimately acquainted with President Lamar, Gen[l]. Rusk and various other Georgians who have become prominent in that Country. Therefore through these associations I have continued to know more, and feel more in regard to Texas than most men.

The great body of the people of Texas ardently desire to come into our Union. Any opposition which may appear to Annexation, whether from President Houston or others, I am well assured is altogether selfish and factious.

Anxious as I am to know the state of our negotiations and prospects upon this subject, your present position forbids my making many inquiries which might be suggested, if I considered you at liberty to confer with a private Citizen upon a subject, which may at the present moment require the most profound silence, out of the Council Chamber.

I could easily write an Essay, or Volume, upon the great importance of the annexation of Texas, but deem the multiplication of words upon this subject, when addressing you, altogether useless—because I know you will duly appreciate its magnitude in all its bearings.

I would willingly make any sacrifice of my quiet, ease and inclination—to aid in furthering and consumating this all important object. And if I find the state of things touching this subject should in the course of the present year, open a door for useful and efficient service, I have it [in] view to visit the Country. If Texas should become a part of the U. S. It will be a matter of Vital importance to the entire South, that all the incipient steps, touching the establishment of the local institutions of that Country, should be based and founded

in wisdom, and that far seeing forecast, so necessary to the permanent prosperity and harmony of the whole Union.

Any thing that may be proper for me [to] know, at any time, on the subject of Texas—will be received with thankfulness. For your health, happiness, and success in your present labors my poor prayers and best wishes await you.

As Ever Yrs.

WILSON LUMPKIN.

From Colin M. Ingersoll.[1]

private New Haven, Apl. 3d 1844.

DEAR SIR. You have doubtless heard the result of the recent election in this state and perhaps, knowing as you did the conduct of Mr V Burens friends in our state convention, it was such as you anticipated. Our defeat cannot be ascribed to the apathy of your more prominent friends in Connecticut, for never have they done their duty more faithfully than during the campaign which we have just come out of, but in a great measure to the want of that enthusiasm throughout the state which the nomination of our Middletown Convention failed to inspire. For the past five weeks I have been traversing this and the adjoining counties and addressing our friends. I had an opportunity of knowing something of the feeling which pervaded the state, and I found many a warm hearted man supposed by the "wire pullers" to be strong for the *restoration*, actually condemn the nomination of our Convention, they try however to keep cool and are in fact the most radical and determined Democrats we have. The vote of the state shows, as any one will perceive who will examine it, that where we have proclaimed our choice for President to be another than Mr V Buren, the Democracy have done well. New Haven County which went nearly unanimous for yourself in the Convention shows a good vote, while Hartford Co. from whence the order for the Nomn. of Mr V Buren went forth to our convention, has fallen in the rear. The city of N. Haven has increased her Dem. vote about 150 from last year, and Hartford where the leaders, whose pet Mr V Buren

[1] Afterward member of Congress from Connecticut. Original lent by Mrs. J. F. Calhoun.

is, reside, has not come up to her vote of last year! Another circumstance might also be mentioned; notwithstanding the Federalists previous to the election had raised the cry of "Free trade and direct taxation," and appealed to the manufacturing towns to sustain the present tarriff, the result of the election shows that the manufacturing towns have done as well as the farming towns, and in some instances better. Our opponents had the aid of about one half I should think of the Abolitionists in the recent election. I never knew them so active and unscrupulous in their means before, money was poured out like water, and many instances of open bribery have come to my knowledge recently. Their victory however is not a great one, their Governor probably falls short of an election by the people and they have both branches of the Legislature who will elect the Governor. Had our friends been united we should have secured the Legislature. so small are most of the federal majorities, that I have no doubt two hundred votes properly distributed would give us the Legislature and as a consequence state offices and an U. S. Senator.

With a candidate for the Pres^y. who carried with his name a degree of popular enthusiasm I think we might carry the State at the fall election. With Mr V Burens name we can do nothing. I do hope that the Nat^l Convention will yet look to the interests of the people rather than to the interests of mere party leaders.

I have the honor to remain Truly Yrs.

C M. INGERSOLL

From Benjamin E. Green.[1]

Mexico April 11th 1844.

Private.

DEAR SIR. I learn by the newspapers, the sad death of Judge Upshur, and your appointment to the State Department, with a view to the Oregon and Texas questions. My position here has given me an insight into the condition of Texas, California and Oregon; and as it may be of some im-

[1] Benjamin E. Green was secretary of the United States legation in Mexico. He was the son of Duff Green.

portance to you in the anticipated negotiations at Washington, I deem it proper to give you all the information I possess.

That information is chiefly derived from a Mr. Hastings, of Ohio,[1] who, some two years since, led a party of emigrants from the West to Oregon, and past through this city about three months ago, in his return to the U. S.

He describes Oregon as a fine country; but chiefly valuable for its fisheries and fur trade. The salmon of Columbia River is unrivalled in quality and inexhaustible in number. In an agricultural point of view, the country is important, but much less so, in comparison with the rich soil and more attractive climate of the adjoining Californias.

The political state of those countries is very interesting to us. Mr. Hastings told me, *in confidence*, that California is on the point of following the example of Texas, and declaring her independence. The whole project has been well digested, and reduced to a systematized plan. The province of California is far distant from the seat of the Mexican Gov^t^; which has neither soldiers to send there, nor money to support them. Michael Torrena,[2] the Mexican Commandante General, has but two hundred vagabond soldiers to oppose the movement, and has no resources within himself, being destitute both of talents and courage. The military strength is in the hands of the foreigners, and the natives in their favor. A German, named Suter, is at the head of the movement, and the execution of their designs is only delayed for the return of Mr. Hastings, with a reinforcement of settlers.

The settlers in Oregon have already a legislative council and governor: and while Mr. Hastings was in Oregon, they were debating the propriety of declaring their independence of the U. S., and of forming a separate Republic on the Pacific Coast, in conjunction with the Californias. They do not wish to do so, however, if they can obtain protection and encouragement from home.

Nor is California the only portion of Mexican territory in danger. Sonora has been for two years the theatre of civil war, and will probably join in with the movement in California. The provinces, bordering on Texas, have long envied

[1] Lansford W. Hastings, a leader of the Oregon and California emigration of 1842, and author of The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California, Cincinnati, 1845. See Bancroft's Oregon, I, 258-267.

[2] Micheltorena.

the freedom from forced loans and martial rule, enjoyed by their neighbours. New Mexico has been on the eve of a revolution ever since the Santa Fé trade was closed, and there is reason to believe that even Tamaulipas, were it not for her exposed condition would at once throw herself into the arms of Texas. Santa Anna is trying to provoke a war with France. His object is believed to be to take advantage of the confusion and excitement of an invasion, to make himself Emperor; trusting to the English mediation to pacify France, as soon as his object is accomplished.

If France refuses to be pacified, her Minister here, if he advises well, will advise that the attack should be made through Texas, and upon the discontented provinces. It is by no means improbable that the result will be the annexation of those Departments to Texas. With that addition of territory, Texas would no longer desire admission to our union, but on the contrary would prove a dangerous rival both to the cotton interests of the South and the manufactures of the North.

I have the honor to be Very Respectfully Your obt sev^{t}

BEN E. GREEN.

From W. S. Murphy.[1] C. C.

Legation of the United States.
Houston Texas, 29th April 1844

SIR. Your despatch of the 13th Inst was delivered to me, on the 26th Inst. at Galveston by R. C. Murphy who was also the bearer of the Texan duplicate of a Treaty annexing the Republic of Texas to the United States.

The President of the Rep^{b}. of Texas, (by an arrangement between his Excellency and myself,) being in waiting at this City, for the Earliest information on this deeply interesting subject, I thought it proper to accompany your messenger to this place, in order that I might have a personal interview with His Excellency after he should have received the duplicate Treaty.

[1] Gen. W. S. Murphy was chargé d'affaires of the United States in the Republic of Texas from 1843 to June, 1844, and was actively engaged in promotion of the treaty of annexation.

The President was highly gratified, at my having done so, and gave to your Messenger an Expression of his approbation.

After his Excellency had fully examined the duplicate Treaty; and in Conjunction with the Attorney General of the Republic, fully considered its provisions, in connection with all the Private letters, from the Texan Envoys on the same Subject—he expressed to me his hearty approbation of every part thereof, and his high and sanguine hopes at the final success of this important measure. I then took occasion to make known to his Excellency, So much of the substance of your despatch to me, relating to the defence of Texas pending the Treaty of Annexation, as I deemed useful, and proper to Communicate; at which he rose to his feet, and gave utterance to his feelings of gratitude towards the President of the United States and yourself for this distinguished manifestation of the generous and noble policy, which ruled in the Councils of my beloved Country.

His Excellency will remain near this Legation, until the final or definate action of my Government, upon this Treaty is known.

His Excellency finally pressed upon me the Momentous Consideration, of the utter hopelessness of ever effecting this great measure of annexation, in case the present Treaty for that purpose should be rejected by the Senate of the U. States.

I have so often and so earnestly labored to impress this truth upon my government, that I am almost ashamed, to repeat it at this time.

You will have the goodness to excuse the haste with which this brief despatch is drawn up. I have barely time to do it. Your messenger leaves here immediately for Galveston that he may take the Neptune for N. Orleans, tomorrow.

With great respect and esteem, I have the Honor to be Your Obt Sevt

W. S. MURPHY.

NOTE. It is almost useless for me to add, that I am fully impressed with the high responsibility which your last despatch casts upon me, and that I shall take care to follow your instructions with great caution and precision.

Private Houston 29" April 1844.

SIR. I have not seen the Treaty, and as the President did not offer it for my perusal, I thought it indelicate to ask for it. Yet, I cannot doubt, but that my government has obligated the U. States, to assume the payment of the Public debt of Texas. And inasmuch as the assumption of that debt, would create no greater obligation on the part of the U. States, than that under which Texas rests, it may not be unimportant to suggest, even now, that the Treasury Drafts of Texas now outstanding were not issued for the amount which appears up[on] their face. Some were issued as equivalent to 50 cents on the Dollar, some as equivalent to 25 cents &c &c and some as low as 16 cents on the Dollar, and the Gov^t of Texas was only obligated to redeem them at the price, or value, for which they were issued.

The Gov^t Records will shew, when compared with the date of the Drafts, for what equivalents they were issued. in great Haste,

Yours Respectfully W. S. MURPHY.

P. S. I learn from the Auditor of the Treasury, who is here, that the Public Debt of Texas, when fairly audited as above will not amount to 5.000.000.

From M. P. Norton.[1] C. C.

Houston, Ap. 29, 1844.

DEAR SIR I write you at this moment because I am sure there is no one here will do it, as most of those in the confidence of the President here are bitterly opposed to annexation. It is now *certain* that we can form such a commercial treaty with Great Britain as will insure our immediate independence. Gen Houston had an interview with Capt. Elliot[2] on the day he left Galveston for New Orleans. Monsr Saligny the French minister is now at Galveston. the President is strongly urged and importuned to break off from the treaty with the U. S. and listen to their propositions. . We are all

[1] M. P. Norton, postmaster and journalist at Houston, was a prominent Texan politician, and afterward a district judge.

[2] British minister in Texas.

prepared if we are spurned again from the Union to enter into a commercial *free trade* treaty with G. B. and France on a guaranty of our Independence which we can *now* have and the advantages it promises us in the cotton trade renders it very desirable. The enemies of annexation urge upon the President that we can not get as good terms after annexation fails and that it is his duty now to receive propositions and I can assure you beyond a doubt that when it shall be known here that Gen Henderson[1] shall have made his visit of leave at Washington that propositions will have been received and agreed to by us that will place annexation beyond all hope forever without a war with G. B. and that such propositions will be gladly accepted by our Government and people. The President was strongly urged to consent to entertain the proposition when it was apprehended here that certain pledges made to us by Gen. Murphy were to be disavowed, that apprehension is removed by Gen. Henderson's letter of 9th Ap. These apprehensions were founded on a certain communication supposed to have been made by M^r^. Nelson to Gen. Murphy before your arrival. It is very important to the success of the measure that all the assurances made to the President by Gen. Murphy shall be carried out to the *letter* not so much from immediate fear of danger from Mexico as that the President may not be induced to seize upon a breach of them to break off the treaty which it is urged here that he may do at any moment when he shall have received it without submitting it to the Senate. It is therefore of the utmost importance that no single assurance of Gen. Murphy be disavowed or left *unfulfilled.* I do not say these things because I have any want of faith in President Houston but because I know the almost overpowering influences that are brought to bear upon him. You will doubtless be furnished by this mail through Gen Henderson with the evidence that the commission for an armistice was at once rejected by Gen. Houston when it reached him on the ground that we were treated in it as a department of Mexico and that the commissioners had not the slightest authority to treat upon that basis. In truth the Commissioners who are violently opposed to annexation are

[1] Texan envoy to the United States.

believed here to have entered into that agreement for the very purpose for which it will doubtless be used by Mexico and the opponents of annexation—to defeat the measure and there is great fear here that the disavowal by the President may not reach you in season to meet the objection, as a copy of the instructions to the commissioners and the action of the President on the armistice will not reach here in season to go out by the Neptune. Gen. Henderson will have however a letter from the President which may have the same effect to a certain extent. Allow me to suggest that the commissioners to settle claims under the ten million allowance made for that purpose in the Treaty be allowed to sit at "Washington in Texas," *or such other place in Texas as they may themselves appoint*, as there are very serious objections to that place and that if any lesser sum than ten millions shall be likely to accelerate the passage of the Treaty that it had better be amended in the Senate even down to eight if necessary as that change will not prevent its ratification by us. Most of these claims are held in the United States. It must certainly be desirable if you have a majority in the Senate but not two thirds, that you hold the Treaty up and not allow it to be *rejected* untill action shall have been had on the question on *affirmative* resolutions in the House as when these shall reach the Senate and the opponents shall see that we may be annexed by resolution they may be disposed to favor the treaty—besides if the Treaty shall be rejected you will no longer have any such hold upon the Government of Texas as may prevent the President from entering into negotiations that must greatly embarass if not entirely defeat the measure for I am absolutely certain that this is the only treaty you can ever get and that propositions will be crowded upon us the moment the Treaty is rejected that will place the subject beyond your reach by peacable means; there is no doubt entertained here that the English and French ministers at your Court have instructions to interpose their protest if they think such course may prevent and not accelerate the measure and may be the *only means* of preventing it; such information has been received here from a quarter entirely to be relied upon at Paris—but the movements of those Governments with your own on that question is better known to you than to us.

I am not willing that this letter should go on to the files of your department. I am not certain that you think the facts communicated of any importance or that you may not have them from other quarters on which you have more right to rely or that they may not be too late for any useful purpose, if annexation shall fail this letter might prove very injurious to me if known here; if the measure succeed I care nothing about it. I am known to Gen. Henderson and Messrs. Evans and Fairfield of the Senate and I refer you to them for the faith you can place in my statements. I am among the few friends of annexation who are so much in the confidence of the Executive as to know what movements are taken to favor or defeat the measure and I repeat, if I have said it before, that annexation can never occur peaceably unless by the present movement, that it is not at all unlikely to be broken off from this quarter and that the line between Texas and the United States will form the *Slave line* within five years after a commercial treaty shall be formed with G. B. and that too by our own free will and still sooner if we are left alone to take care of ourselves for we cannot go into another war with Mexico and leave our families at home exposed to the dangers of a slave population and we never *will* surrender the country to Mexico while one man is left to fight.

Yrs. Very Truly, M. P. NORTON.

From James Gadsden. C. C.

Confidential Charleston 3 May 1844

MY DEAR SIR Clays and Van Burens letter on Texas have created some excitement here: particularly that from the latter.

The first was expected. But the course of the latter was the reverse. It demonstrates most clearly what the influence of abolishionism is at the north in spite of declarations to the contrary.

I consider the annexation of Texas now that the views of Great Britain and the Northern States are not only disclosed, but openly avowed the most vital one which has occured since the revolution. On it hinges the very existence of our Southern Institutions, and if one of the south now prove recreant:

we will or must content to be Hewers of wood and Drawers of Water for our northern Brethren. There is much excitement among us: and many ready for immediate action. But what should be the action is the question with a very large portion of our Friends. Unity of action seems to be the difficulty. No inconsiderable portion of the Democracy are ripe for hoisting the Tyler flag and of rallying under an Administration party to carry out the Presidents policy as explained in his message. Others however, and the decided majority of the Democrats, do not think Tyler equal to the crisis and still turn on and confide in you as our leader. Unwilling to have a split at a period when Union is so important we feel much at loss untill we can be better instructed from Washington. Would you, in confidence communicate your views to me.

Your friends are all ready and anxious to raise a standard which should never have been lowered: but they are unwilling to act precipitately and possibly against your judgement. If you think from indications at Washington that we should move—We will do so—but if you think delay preferable: or if you concur in bringing out Tyler: why we will be prepared to act. We all are resolved to hold communion with Van Buren no longer—for myself, who never did trust him, I feel gratified at the course he has pursued

Your friend JAMES GADSDEN

I have written to Gen[l] Jackson and hope to bring him out.

From James H. Hammond. C. C.

Silver Bluff 10 May 1844

MY DEAR SIR. I rec[d] from you a few days ago a note, and a letter addressed by the British Minister to you. From the Tenor of your note, and the letter of the Minister I apprehend you have not sent me the paper you intended. In this M[r]. Pakenham merely informs you that he will notify the Authorities of Canada that the American minister in London will apply to her majesty for a pardon of Robert Marsh transported to Van Dieman's Land. As an evidence of his good feeling it is equivocal and not to be put in the balance against

his protest—if he has made one, against the Treaty with Texas. I should like to know what right Great Britain has to interfere with the Treaties of Nations on this Continent other than her Colonies. Is it intended to endeavour to introduce here the European System of the Balance of Power according to European ideas? I was delighted with your note to Mr. Pakenham in reference to Slavery. It is precisely the thing that was wanted and I do trust it will be published in every European paper. I have not seen the attack on you in the Globe and am at a loss to conjecture on what ground you can be charged with hostility to the annexation. I should say it was flatly impossible to make even a plausible showing, if I did not know that with the baseness and malice of the devil Benton has his power of invention also. I think however it is clear that he and Van Buren have both split on this Rock. The feeling in favour of annexation—the reason and imperative necessity of the thing cannot be met in the South and S. west by humbug or chichanery: and these two masters in this art will for once find their magic powers fail them. Benton's hatred to you is at the bottom of this movement and I am rejoiced that it has at length led him to his ruin. As to Van Buren, after this letter and the Virginia election I don't see the use of assembling a Convention in his behalf. Is the Democratic Party then to make no show of hands even? It is never to be too much lamented that after your letter the Mercury and Spectator so hastily withdrew your name. It was a great error though doubtless done with the best feelings towards you. I can make no conjectures that would be wirth offering to you who are at head quarters—but is it impossible yet to rally your friends so as at least to get your name into the House? Might not the Democratic Party run its favourites in each secton? I think you could at least carry all south of No. Carolina—if not of Virginia. No anti-Texas candidate could rally the slave states against you or any of them. At all events the Texas question should be pushed. If the Union is to break there could not be a better pretext. With Texas the slave states would form a territory large enough for a *first rate power* and one that under a free trade system would flourish beyond any on the Globe—immediately and forever. I confess I despair of the Union more and more daily. The

combat on the floor of the House—the violation of the secrecy of the Senate almost prove us both incapable and unworthy of having a Government as at present organized. The resolute adherence to Tariff—the sectional hostility to Texas—the increasing zeal and impertinence of the abolitionists show that the North and the South cannot exist united. I have not been for any length of time in close contact with my negroes until this year since 1839. I am astonished and shocked to find that some of them are aware of the opinions of the Presidental Candidates on the subject of Slavery and doubtless of much of what the abolitionists are doing and I am sure they know as little of what is done off my place as almost any set of negroes in the State. I fancy—it may be fancy—there is a growing spirit of insubordination among the Slaves in this section. In the lower part of this district they have fired several houses recently. This is fearful—horrible. A *quick* and *potent* remedy must be applied. *Disunion* if *needs* be.

It is very dry, but crops, particularly corn promising.

Very truly and sincerely yours

J. H. HAMMOND

From John S. Barbour. C. C.

Warrenton [Va.] May 11th 1844

MY DEAR SIR. I send you by this Mail the paper printed at this place which contains the proceedings of this County on the Texas question. The Article in it addressed to Blair (the Editor) is the offspring of the pen of your excellent friend Mr. Edwd Dixon. A young gentleman of good Talents, fine Character, and brave, chivalrous and manly.

It is obvious to every eye that Mr. Van Buren can no longer be upheld. Johnson and Muhlenberg have occurred to me as strong enough to carry the West and the North. With a Strong Man in the South also holding to Muhlenberg for the Vice Presidency success would be sure.

The selection might then devolve on the House of Reps. Evil as this is, it is lesser evil than a surrender to the Whigs, whose success *now* is probable Success for twenty years to come—perhaps to the euthanasia of our System, or the violent disruption of the Confederacy.

Muhlenberg can carry Penna. Who else can? As to Stewart, it is idle to think of. Tyler cannot be elected. I have not the slightest doubt of your having strength enough in Virginia to carry the State. The talent of the State is with you, its disinterestedness is with you, its principles with you, its virtue and patriotism with you. I will not close my eyes to night until I have written Ritchie. I think his character is not well understood by you. Gen[l] Bayley of the H[e]. of Rep[s] has a fairer and truer appreciation of him than any one I know. Ritchie is not selfish—he is not base. His character combines in it some of the noblest virtues—Steadiness in friendship, elevation in Morals, Stability of patriotism with great simplicity of character and therefore sometimes led astray by those to whom he may unwittingly have given his heart and his confidence. To these qualities he unites no common ability. I told him in 1825 that he was utterly ignorant of you, and last winter he admitted it to me. He is valuable as a friend, from the possession of those virtues, that grow in value (like the books of the Sybil,) because their possessors have so greatly diminished in numbers. I never had his friendship, and have nothing from him to warp my judgment. I have narrowly watched him for thirty years, and the result of my experience is the high estimate I have placed on his head and his heart. Talk with Bayley of him, and do not allow Ritchie to do you longer injustice, by injustice in your opinion of him.

I write freely to you—for that is the province of friendship.

I have refused in several instances to give letters to you, for persons desiring office. I hope it will not be regarded as a departure from the propriety under which I acted in these refusals, to bring to your care the claims of Edward Dixon.

In all haste and with all Respect

Yrs faithfully and cordially

J. S. Barbour

From Francis Wharton. C. C.

Philadelphia, May 22[d] 1844

My dear Sir, I am much indebted to you for your goodness in noticing my letter of a few weeks since. In common

with most of the members of the bar here, of which though a young, I am somewhat an ambitious member, I feel a deep interest in the nomination to the vacant judgeship. I wish the matter were in your hands,—I still trust that such matters may some day be—but as it is, both the bar and the country will hope for the best in the filling of that, and the remaining important vacancies.

I cannot refrain expressing my anxiety at the troubles brooding over a northern wing of the Republican party. The south may be safe enough, but I see here no prospect of a safe reorganization. You will allow me to speak frankly on the subject of Mr. Tyler; and I believe I can truly say that so great is the distrust felt here towards him, that nominated or not nominated, anti-Texas or pro-Texas, he will not collect a thousand votes in the state. Were not your own great name connected with his, the Texas question would be dragged by him into the dust. I am in the habit of occasional conversation with the old recognized leaders in this city, and I believe that it is the fear of his nomination alone that prevents them from coming out manfully. As it is, the argument for immediate annexation has not come to us fairly. Mr. Tyler's advocacy is suspicious,—Mr. Walker's Quixotic. Mr. Benton's speech, as I glanced at it in this evening's Globe, will produce a strong and abiding effect, unless its reasoning be controverted from a source entitled to the respect of the community. What Mr. Buchanan may do, I know not, and perhaps he may succeed in working a change. If such should be the case, and *you* should be brought forward as the annexation candidate, or Mr. Buchanan himself, or perhaps General Cass, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Hampshire might be snatched from Mr. Clay. But with Mr. Tyler as a candidate, the game is up. The Texas scheme will become as rediculous as the Exchequer, and will be almost as easily crushed, at least in its present shape. Whatever office-seekers or office-keepers may say, I have no doubt that if the issue is to [be] made upon Mr. Tylers reëlection, we will not only be miserably but ludicrously defeated.

If you could find time and opportunity to exhibit the bearing of the present treaty in such a manner as to recommend it to the republicans of the North, a great point would be

gained. The published documents, to a Northern eye have a baldness which made me for one almost believe that the hand which purloined, had garbled them. Our instinct is in favour of the scheme, but our reason has not been sufficiently courted. The frankness, and I must add, the unexpected *logicalness* of Mr. Van Buren's letter, has shaken some of our best friends, and I believe that to turn things round suddenly enough for the November election would require exertions superhuman.

What then can be done? I answer, we must bide our time. So great and unexpected a change of popular sentiment as that called for by the treaty cannot take place in a flash. I see no reason for doubting the opinion we held but a short time since, that the next election must go by default. Put Mr. Clay in the Whitehouse, and, with a moderate degree of prudence and conciliation on our part, we will have the reversion to ourselves. If the states-rights party acts wisely, in one year, under a Whig president, it will dry up the Albany regency, and draw over its subjects. Mr. Clay will be elected easily enough, and though good faith and policy both require we should oppose him, there is no probability that by doing so he will be defeated. Would not his election be safer for republican principles, with the necessary reaction in our favour which would follow, than would the election of any pro-Texas, pro-Tariff caucus democrat, such as Mr. Buchanan or General Cass? If we could succeed in November with a good and true man, we will be doing well, but of that I fear there is no hope. Under such circumstances I cannot but believe that our true policy is to prepare for the organisation of such an opposition as prudence and energy will enable us to collect, for the purpose of hampering Mr. Clay for his first term, and defeating him for his second.

I hope to go to Washington in the course of the spring, and I believe I would long since have made the visit, in spite of the business claims, which, small as they are, I am trying to nurse into respectability, had I not been frightened by the accounts of the hosts of office hunters by which both you and the president are beset. I am still so young, and have still so very little political experience and political weight, that I feel almost backward, also, to attract a moment of your attention.

Not being, therefore, either an office seeker, or a politician, I am almost unwilling to intrude upon the occupations of the capitol. But if in any manner or way I can be useful to you, or our own great cause, even a suggestion from you, will give me will to do, and energy in doing.

Your faithful friend and servant

FRANCIS WHARTON.

From Francis W. Pickens. C. C.

Baltimore Tuesday 10 O'Clock [May 28, 1844].

MY DEAR SIR I would have written before but for constant engagements. There are some things I cannot understand. I saw it the moment I mingled with members at Washington. Your own friends talked of your name as out of the question at present &c, whereas I had been thinking that circumstances had taken place which made it eminently fit and proper that you should be pushed; and had so talked all the way over.

Well I find hundreds here who all say you ought to be the man, but they cannot get at you &c. There has been something wrong *somewhere* but where I cannot tell. Everything is uncertain here. Walker I have been with much—he fights nobly, but does not see the end of his own moves. If they dispute all points, as they will do I think, it will end in confusion, and blowing up of the convention. All the members begin to see the nomination is in fact the election, and therefore they will contend for every inch. The whole amount is that there will be no other conventions, and we have made the plat-form upon which they will break them down.

It seems probable that, if any one is nominated it will be Cass and Johnson, but still a slight circumstance may change the whole. I never saw such excitement in my life—immense crowds every night and addresses in the streets &c. of the most vulgar demagoguism.

As I return I will see you and hope to receive a letter from home which will be enclosed to you. I shall have no time to stay in Washington, and as I cannot get an interview with Gen' Anderson at all, I enclose the within note so that I can

receive the answer when I call to see you. Will you be so kind as to make a servant drop it at the Bank for me.

Very truly

F. W. PICKENS.

P. S. My own impression is that the best result *for us* is the nomination of V. B. by a large majority and if it does not force rebellion it will bring defeat and odium upon his N. York clique and future prostration to Benton Wright &c. and the whole Dynasty. Perhaps it is better this than for us to be forced to acquiesce in a weak and uncertain ticket.

8 O'clock—night.

Convention adjourned, last balot Cass 123 V. B.—99, Johnson 21, Bucchanan 26 Calhoun 1. I begin to doubt any nomination being made. The V. B. men desperate—great excitement. They will not agree to Cass. It is best for us to break up without agreeing. V. B. dead forever. They begin to see the consequences of things. It does seem to me that the South ought to agree to push you. I do not see why they don't—but all are lifeless.

F. W. P.

From Benjamin E. Green. C. C.

Legation of the U. S. of A., Mexico 30th May 1844.

SIR. I send you (nos 1, 2 3 and 4) two notes, which I addressed to the Minister of Foreign Relations upon the subject of the Instalment, which fell due on the 30th ulto; and his replies thereto. In addition I need only state that daily application has been made for the payment, but as yet none of the money has been paid. The Minister of Foreign Relations, in his note of the 6th, states that the payment would be made on the following day, and in that of the 23d, he says that the Minister of Hacienda had two days previous issued an order for the payment. Notwithstanding this, the money has not been paid, and the *order has not been issued.* This needs no comment.

In the present posture of affairs, they do not wish to acknowledge their unwillingness or inability to pay; but the fact is that at present they have not the money.

In relation to the Convention for the liquidation of claims, I have already explained the difficulties in the way of its settlement. The same posture of affairs continuing, their excuse for not entering upon and concluding that Convention now is, that they are waiting for some documents of the late Commission. This is nothing more than an excuse.

Col. Thompson arrived in this city on the 22d inst. After consulting with him as directed in your letter of introduction, I requested an interview with the Minister of Foreign Relations for the following day. In that interview I presented the note, of which I send you a copy (no. 5); and requested that the Mexican Minister at Washington should be authorized to receive propositions and open negotiations for a boundary line between the two countries. I also requested that, if the Mexican Gov^t should think proper to authorize its Minister to do so, I might be informed thereof on tuesday, the 28th. This was promised; but on tuesday the Mexican Minister informed me, that the President requested that Mr Thompson's departure might be postponed, in order that he might previously have a conference with me on the subject of the proposed negociations. No 6 is a protocol of the conference with the President. No 7 is a copy of Mr Bocanegra's reply to my communication. This reply was promised to me this morning; but was not received until nine o'clock tonight; and owing to the lateness of the hour, and want of time, I must refer you to Col. Thompson, who accompanied me to the Conference with the President, and who will be able to give you a full account of all that has transpired.

He will also inform you that the course of the Mexican Gov^t is entirely owing to the fact that they are under the impression that the Treaty for the annexation of Texas will be rejected by the Senate, and that they calculate upon our internal dissensions, growing out of the question of slavery.

I send you files of the official paper, and refer you particularly to the article of the no of the 21st May, which I have marked.

I have the honor to be Very Respectfully Your obt sev^t

BEN E GREEN

From Francis Wharton. C. C.

Philadelphia, May 31st, 1844.

My dear Sir, I thank you most warmly for touching what with me, has turned out to be the true key on the Texas question. My "northern" eyes have at last opened, and the eyes of the one or two to whom I read your letter,—who were previously strong opposers of the measure,—have opened also. It is a duty owed by the North to the South. If I can be any way useful, as a writer, on the subject, let me know. If in the course of the campaign, a pamphlet is to be written, to embrace the Northern view, and if my services would be of any value, they are at your command. I wish my practice was sufficiently extensive to enable me not only to *write*, but to *publish*.

I trust you consider Polk's nomination safe,—it certainly has very much dashed the politicians in this neighbourhood. The first feeling was that of delight,—not at Polk's nomination, but that any nomination was made at all. The second feeling is one of wonder and curiosity. The Pennsylvania editors—I mean, the editors of the Pennsylvania Newspapers,—have started on the hunt after Mr. Polk's opinions, and have discovered, to their horror, that he is not only pro-Texas, but anti-Tariff. So far, so good. I will be very much gratified if Mr. Pickens and Mr. Elmer turn out to represent your opinions. As to Mr. Dallas, whom I knew very well personally, there is no one who professes for you a greater admiration. I met him a short time ago, when he told me he had just read my late review in the Democratic Review, and agreed with it thoroughly. He went on to say that there was one man who was the great man of this country, and that was Mr. Calhoun.

From James Hamilton. C. C.

Oswichee Bend. June 14 1844.

My Dear Sir. Since my last to you the Baltimore Convention has met and done its *nothingness*—for I really consider the nomination of Polk as nothing. I do not pretend to

decide on the policy of your friends dropping you, but there is something certainly peculiarly unfortunate in the fate or condition of a party which compels it to pass over the *first* of its Men and to rally on those scarcely above mediocrity. Mr Tyler's nomination would in reference to the Question of Annexation have been far more just and congruous than that of Polk. It must have been made by the Van Buren men expressly to be defeated—or to illustrate the amiable fable of the Dog in the Manger.

We passed on the 8th of June Resolutions in this County providing for the call of a So Convention—with a view to a Convention of all the States, to take into consideration the Slave Question. An address is ordered which I am to prepare to appear after the adjournment of Congress—that we may avail ourselves of the result of its final proceedings on Annexation. I will endeavor to combine both moderation and prudence in the paper with a *proper spirit.*—We are however without advices from our Members of Congress who have kept us entirely in the dark as to questions of remedy and redress.

I wish to see whether the South has any pluck left if not the sooner we settle down into quiet submission and capitulate with the enemy the better.—We have talked and Bullied enough.

I have written to Elmore to request Lewis to stop at Oswichee to meet me. If anything is to be done I think we may put Alabama in the lead if nothing why I will quietly return to my Cotton fields and wait with what fortitude I can the bursting of the Storm that cannot be a long way off. Come what may you have done yourself honor.

I remain, My Dear Sir With sincere esteem

Yours faithfully

J HAMILTON.

P. S. I wish Benton had been present at Crawford last Saturday. to the Mirth of the people I handled him without gloves.

From Friedrich Ludwig von Roenne. C. C.

private. Berlin July 28th 1844.

My dear Sir, I informed you some time ago, that a Board of Trade would be erected of which I was to be the President. Knowing the great interest you have always kindly taken in the affairs of my Country, I beg leave now to inform you, that the new Department has since been erected under the title of "Handels-Amt" and that the King has appointed me the President of the Department. There is to be a Council of Trade, besides, but this is to be no Department at all, only when I report to the King about commercial matters some of the other Ministers ought to be present and we then form the Council of Trade in which the King decides upon my report. I hope this new institution will prove beneficial to the developement of our commerce and industry. I regret that the Senate have not ratified our treaty, but hope that our relations will nevertheless continue as friendly as they were when I resided in the U. S. The new Department will, I trust, contribute to promote the intercourse between Germany and America and I hope our joint efforts will place it upon a firmer basis. Every body must see at once that two great countries with a vast population, the one of which has all sorts of raw products while the other has all sorts of cheap manufactures, and both of which are unrestricted by any consideration of colonial policy, seem to be destined by nature to trade with each other. There is one subject which is much in the way of the full developement of the commerce of certain provinces of Prussia. Mr. Wheaton will write to you on the subject and I beg leave strongly to recommend it to your consideration. The shipping and commercial as well, as the planting interests of the U. S. are deeply concerned in the question. . . .

Your most obedt servt

Roenne

From A. J. Donelson C. C.

private, confidential

Nashville, July 29, 1844

Sir, Having seen the letter which Col Gadsden addressed to Genl Jackson after conversing with you in relation to the difficulties yet in the way of attaching Texas to our Union,

it was my intention at that time to write to you, mentioning that no time had been lost in addressing to Houston a letter warning him of the designs of Great Britain—but I was taken from home by engagements which have occupied me until now.

That you may be fully apprized of what has been done, I think it best to send you a copy of the letter to Houston, which he will have received by the time you get this. If Houston could be induced to rely with any confidence on the success of the nominations of Messrs Polk and Dallas I should suppose the advice offered him by the Genl would be controlling.

The danger is that he may not be able to stand up before his own people if the guarantee promised by England and France is accompanied by terms otherwise very favorable to Texas. But of this accident we must run the risk, relying on the justice and force of those views which sustain the policy of the measure of annexation, and which we are sure must prevail as soon as the people of the United States understand the magnitude of the mischief which will result from the location of British influence on that frontier.

The Clay party in this state have as perfect an organization as they had in 1840, and it will require the union of every democratic interest to break it down. The state is becoming almost an encampment. My belief is that the Democratic party will gain the victory, but that to do so much must be done that the lovers of good order must regret. We shall be obliged to encourage the association of military companies, and adopt all other honorable means of breaking the chain of such *sway* as was adopted by the Whigs in 1840 and as they yet maintain.

I was gratified to hear from Co^l Gadsden that you felt a deep interest in the success of Polk.

I am very respectfully y^r obt servt

A. J. DONELSON

From Fitzwilliam Byrdsall. C. C.

New York August 25th 1844

DEAR SIR I am very desirous of obtaining a copy of Burke's Report upon the Rhode Island suffrage movement,

which I am informed is now being printed at the Globe office. As I know of no better mode of procuring one than applying to you, I throw myself upon your kindness with the request, that you will forward me a copy, if you can with perfect convenience do so.

I cannot refrain from taking this oppertunity, now that the National-Convention-Campaign is ended, to say a few words in relation to your political friends in this city. Having formed the only Calhoun-organization that ever existed in this part of the Union, I may assume to have some knowledge of its members. In regard to political intelligence and fidelity to any cause they espouse, they are not excelled by any body of democrats in the Union. It was for your State right and constitutional views of our system of Government, that we preferred you as our candidate, and such was our fidelity, that after your own Southern friends had hauled down the Calhoun flag, we still kept it up, untill you became a member of the Cabinet. We then rallied to the Tyler Standard and have remained true to him untill his withdrawal, for which, as well as for his excellent letter, we feel both grateful and gratified, if for no other reason than that now we are *free* to go to the support of Polk and Dallas without any dishonor to ourselves. We are the last to leave any cause we pledge ourselves to support.

Upon yourself or the President we have no reflections to make, but we have been greatly chagrined at the deficiency of organization and tact of your Southern friends, as well as at the heartlessness of his professing friends. Each of you may well say "Save me from my friends!" You for the inefficiency of yours, and he for the perfidy of his.

After all, we have done much— there is great reason for gratulation. A political Dynasty is broken down, a Texas Candidate is nominated and our principles of Revenue tariff, District system of representation and strict construction of the constitution are on the ascent towards ascendancy.

I should be much pleased to receive from you, your Views of our political prospects as well as some hints as to the course to be pursued by your friends here. To what great point shall we direct our efforts?

With Sentiments of the highest esteem I have the honour of subscribing myself Dear Sir

Your obliged and Obedient Servant

F. BYRDSALL
28 Vandam St, New York

From F. H. Elmore. C. C.

Columbia August 26, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR Since I wrote you last I rec^d^. yours of the 6 Augs^t^. and concurring intirely in the views it expressed, I showed it to some of your friends to prevent any misconception of your opinions. Events occurred after I wrote you wholly unexpected to me[1] M^r^. Stuart the Senr. Editor of the Mercury has not been in Charleston, nor connected in any way with politics, so much as even to write a line for his paper for 14 months, until he suddenly threw off his inaction and without consultation that I can learn with any one out of the small circle in Beaufort, wrote that fiery Editorial which has caused so much excitement everywhere. I knew he was excited himself but I had no idea he would throw himself into such a position. M^r^. Clapp did not agree with him and felt fettered and embarrassed, but I fear even now he feels himself called on to stand up to the lead. In Charleston the effect was at one moment alarming—it produced in the old Union men a disposition to renew the old issues. Some of them thought it a most favorable opportunity to force us from our State Rights principles and drive us into a recantation or into a minority. They wished to join issue with the Mercury's Leader and Mr Rhett and cut them off and so weaken us who were left that if at any time hereafter we proposed to put the State on her Sovereignty, that we would be unable to move. Co^l^. Memminger's terms were 1. to join issue with Rhett and his friends and make his proposition a question of Union or Disunion—2^d^. That we should pledge ourselves that we would not under any circumstances make any move to put the State

[1] This editorial, printed in the Charleston Mercury of August 9, may be found reprinted in Niles's Register, LXVI, 406-408. It was connected with the "Bluffton movement," as to which see the letter of September 17, 1844, in Part I, *supra*.

in action against the Tariff of 1842 during the whole term of the next Legislature. A public meeting was absolutely necessary, for either, he and those he could influence would take steps to bring the public mind to these points, or we must anticipate him. We had ascertained his views in a consultation of a part of our active men, and as he would not recede and we could not concur with him, we took the lead and had our meeting and passed the Resolutions you have seen. So far I have heard no objections to our Course and am in great hope they will be satisfactory to allmost all our friends and go far to prevent any further divisions or to render them if inevitable less dangerous to the Union and good feeling of our Party. We so timed our proceedings as to send them to the great Macon Meeting, which the state of my health and private affairs prevented my attending.

I have rec^d^. letters from M^r^. Seddon and from Howard of Georgia imploring us to turn aside the movements for State action. They said the measures proposed in South Carolina, were embarrassing them exceedingly and seemed to be exceeding apprehensive that we would cause their defeat in V^a^ and G^a^. I hope they will be relieved by our Resolutions. I wrote to both to Seddon particularly and requested him to get M^r^. Ritchie to notice and give our proceedings such an interpretation as would place us right before the Party. . . .

Yrs very truly

F. H. ELMORE

From Francis W. Pickens. C. C.

Edgewood 9 Sept. '44.

MY DEAR SIR After great trouble and exhaustion I arrived at home yesterday from Tenn: I came across from Athens to Pendleton under an expectation I would meet you there. But when I got there I found you were not expected and I heard one of my children was very ill—so I came directly through and did not see your family.

Although I did not get to Nashville in time for the great convention[1] yet I flatter myself I got in time to do some good.

[1] Democratic mass convention, attended by several thousand men, August 15.

I attended other meetings and addressed the people &c. I saw delegates from every state in the valley of the Miss: and I can assure you that *all is right* in that quarter. There is deep excitement and great activity, and what is best the canvass is conducted on our principles. I went over the whole ground as to measures and men with Polk (at whose house I spent two days) and there are no disguises. *Everything* is *perfectly satisfactory.* I wish I could have seen you. There is no connection at all with the N. York managers *and no correspondence even.* Benton is off, and he is denounced everywhere. I was at Jackson's a day &c., and he conversed perfectly free with me upon all points. He tells me Benton will never be with us again—and says "thank God! the party can do without him." He sent a message to Benton by his particular friend Judge Boldin, to the same effect but even stronger. Jackson says he is deranged by the explosion of that game. *Polk is entirely untrameled* and is determined if elected to do all he can to reform the Gov: and the 1st thing is to reduce the Tariff of 1842 to a revenue measure entirely and upon the principles of the compromise act; 2d to introduce strict economy; 3d acquire Texas at all hazzards. He will plant himself upon these measures and look firmly to posterity to do him justice and without the slightest reference to *temporary power* as he has announced his determination not to look to re-election. He will look to integrity and qualifications solely for office and none will be removed except for deficiency in those points. I found him exceedingly friendly and we were very free, but of course I mention these things to you alone. None of the old leaders are in council with him—*this I know.* He answers no committees and writes to none but very general letters and in particular cases. The information is that every state in the valley will certainly go for him exept Kty. and Ohio—and the probabilities are that the latter will go with us, particularly since Tyler's withdrawal.

Our friends are determined to fight every inch of ground for Kty. and with some reasonable hopes so they tell me. Tenn. is deeply excited and from what I see and hear will go for us. They are in full discussion upon the Tariff there and I addressed them exactly as I would a So. Ca. audience, and they are with us in feeling. All we want is prudence and

judgement amongst ourselves to secure the fruits of a complete victory, and if we should be defeated, to organize a powerful opposition upon sound principles, and with the certainty of success. In 1832 we had no hearing with the Rep. party as Jackson had led them off and we had none with the National Rep. party as they were ags[t] us on principle, but now we are forcing the discussion upon our issues with the whole Democratic party and they are just coming up to us. We have every prospect of having a combined and powerful union, and with the unsound portion of the party thrown off; now under these circumstances it is madness and folly, and worse *unpatriotic*, to seperate ourselves and throw off those who are with us in feeling and principle. All your friends in Nashville, Shelbyville and Huntsville Ala. conversed with me freely and anxiously. I stopped in Huntsville on my return, and the whole population from what I could learn are determined to move for you early after the Election. Judge Thompson, Col. M[c]Clang, Mr. Clements are all your friends and they are the *leaders* about Huntsville. I told them when they moved to call the people together, and commence by setting forth that "we the people are determined to manage the next presidential Election for ourselves alone, and therefore nominate you as the people's candidate," &c. They will move in all North Ala. exactly where I want the move to commence in the heart of the old Jackson ranks. *Your friends* in Nashville say they can get at least *50,000* people to meet you in Nashville at any time. From all conversation and from what I have seen of the West I am satisfied that you ought to visit *that country next May.* Go early before any public move is made for you. I know you can do much. I never saw men so devoted to our cause than they are there, and I had such crowds of Gentlemen to call even on me that I talked myself perfectly hoarse every night. I know all they want is light. All our ideas are new to them and they seize them with the greatest eagerness. They are a shrewd people and patriotic. The only thing I had to contend agst was the sensativeness, that I feared, might be created in the breast of other gent. from distant states, from the excessive desire manifested to hear from *So. Ca.* to the exclusion of attention to others. I therefore rather avoided speaking when I could.

I saw this feeling distinctly shewn in Mr. Melville of N. York. But I could utter no sentiment on the Tariff too strong for those people, and they are all becoming to understand it thoroughly.

I think we have now every prospect of carrying the election. If N. York goes with us of course Polk is elected, but even if not and N. Jersey and Tenn. go still he is elected without N. Y. If Clay is defeated of course he is done, and will no longer be a disturbing force in the South. I think all our prospects are better than I have seen them for years. I am sure a calm and dignified course in yourself will give you the complete command of the future, and you know I have generally spoken my candid sentiments to you. I think things have developed now clearly who were your sincere friends and those who were so merely from selfish considerations. . . .

I find this State perfectly calm and united out of Beaufort, and the only contrary appearance is exhibited in the Mercury.

I heard McDuffie was for Disunion, but I saw him for a few moments in Abbeville as I passed and he did not talk that way to me. I do not think he has any definite ideas. He seemed to deprecate the recent moves in Beaufort and Colleton as far as I could understand him, yet I confess he seemed more confused than I ever saw him. There were several present, amongst them Judge Wardlaw, and I denounced the mad schemes of those who were crying for seperate action. I afterwards took M^cD. one side to talk freely with him and told him what I had heard of him—he denied it—and yet seemed indefinite—said he preferred cesession to Nulification and that was all the idea he suggested. His health is much improved.

I suppose the Oregon question is before you by this.

Very truly

F. W. PICKENS.

From Francis Wharton. C. C.

Philadelphia, September 11th 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I wrote you a letter some time since, and though I do not know whether you are in Washington, I am

going to write you another. I have been for some time considering the propriety of establishing a weekly paper in this city, based on the plan of the London Examiner or Spectator, designed to be both political and literary. Mr. Gilpin[1] and Mr. C. J. Ingersoll, whom I have consulted, both consider the plan to be judicious, and likely, if placed in enterprising hands, to be of great benefit to the republican party. I am half involved as editor, but before taking any step, I am anxious to consult with you. If it is got up here,—under the patronage of the established party leaders,—it will be soon Van Buranized and Silas Wrighted. There will be no helping it. They will control the subscription list, and contribute the capital. Mr. Ingersoll will hand in a tariff article, and in it will go, and Mr. Gilpin will load us with anti-Texas squibs which we will have to fire. We will be prevented from taking the republican stand,—advocating the States rights party,—rallying under *your* name,—and what is worse, we will be hunkerised and Albany regency-ised till we settle into a weekly edition of the Pennsylvanian.

For such a cause, I have no taste. It is my ambition to fall into other ranks, and it would give me the greatest pleasure to devote, unrepayed, my time to the dissemination of your views in the Northern States. I believe it could be done with success. I see great need for an organ which would do so north of the Potomac. I am fully confident of the ability of myself, and those who would be associated with me, to put the matter firmly and attractively before the public. If we mean to move, however, we must be started; if we do not lean, primarily, upon the North for subscribers, we must lean on the South. Could not twenty gentlemen be found who will contribute fifty dollars apiece as shareholders, for the establishment of such an organ? A paper coming out weekly, under such auspices, with such declared views, at two dollars and a half a year,—could, I am sure, run up a large and active list of subscribers. I have consulted with the publisher of the Pennsylvanian who thinks that as a financial matter, the plan would succeed; and with some government, and more per-

[1] Henry D. Gilpin.

sonal, patronage, its success would be certain. Allow me, therefore, to ask your consideration to its practical bearings.

With great attachment, I am yours &c

FRANCIS WHARTON.

I send one or two English papers on the same plan.

From Memucan Hunt.[1] C. C.

Private Galveston, Texas, October 2nd 1844

MY DEAR SIR, The present momentous position of this country induces me to take the liberty of addressing you this note with view of stating our situation and making some suggestions in relation to what should be our present policy and actions and of asking yours in reply.

It is doubtful from the course he has heretofore pursued and from what I can learn whether Mr Anson Jones, the Prest elect of Texas, is favorable to our union with the U. S. The recent appointments of Mr Terrell as Minister to Great Britain and Mr. Reily to the U. S., both of whom are avowed opponents of annexation when added to the recent zealous support of the British party in Texas of Mr Jones for Prest with the declaration, in some instances, on their part, that they voted for Mr Jones because he was opposed to annexation is calculated to increase these doubts. I hope however they are unfounded. When I saw him last, which was in February, we held frequent conversations on the subject and I can assure you that he was at that time an unreserved advocate of the measure, yet he may have changed since the defeat of the treaty for that object, by the U. S. Senate. Whether he has, or has not, I am satisfied that if your congress will pass a law providing for the union within the next twelve months, that at least two thirds of both houses of the congress of Texas will ratify the same.

There is no guaranty however that this would be the case at a later date. The very policy I, as one of the citizens of this country, shall recommend to my friends in congress to adopt—whilst I believe it is calculated to hasten your action in favor of

[1] Memucan Hunt was chargé des affaires of the Republic of Texas at Washington in 1837, and is noted as having at that time made proposals of annexation.

the measure—will at the same time tend to create a powerful party in this country, opposed to it. The recommendation I shall offer is a simple reduction by law of our import duties to 10 per cent, or even 8, or 6, ad valorem on all products and manufactories of any country which will admit the products and manufactories of Texas on the same conditions, and to such countries as refuse an acquiescence a requisition of discriminating duties of from 25 to 200 per cent. This proposition would, doubtless, be exceeded to by Great Britain, France and Belgium—Texas being exclusively an agricultural country. The result of this if it is adopted, will be great, very great, injuries to both the manufactures and revinues of the U. S., for, as I stated officially to your Gov^t in 1837 it will be impossible to prevent smuggling from one country to the other when their tariffs of duties materially differ. The passage of such a law, as the one I have refered to, in the event of its being met with reciprocal regulations in Great Britain and the other powers of Europe with which we have treaties, of which there is little doubt, would at once engage capital enough at this place to supply the valley of the Mississippi with all the goods they need the duties of which exceed 20 per cent. The proprietors of the great manufacturing interests in the U. S. foreseeing this result, will, it appears to me, become advocates of immediate annexation, for, without it, the state of trade above depicted will destroy or greatly impair their prosperity and they are surely wise enough to foresee that if Texas once adopts this, almost free trade system and its citizens derive the benefits that will certainly accrue to them from it they will become opposed in a very short time to annexation. The expences of our government is a mere nothing and 8 or 10 per cent duties will pay them. Agriculture would be greatly promoted by such a system of trade and the wealth of the mercantile interest in such a state of things would soon greatly control all classes of our citizens and I can not say but that in twelve months after its adoption a majority of the people of Texas would be opposed to annexation, and backed as they would be, doubtless, by Great Britain and France it would be impossible for the U. S. to force a connexion at an after time.

As an individual and one who consulted alone his individual happiness and prosperity for life I should be opposed to

annexation myself and were it [not] coupled with the paramount security of Republican institutions in the U. S. and the prosperity and happiness of so many millions of the human family I should now oppose it.

If you think I am wrong in my views as regards the best policy to be adopted by Texas to procure speedy annexation be pleased to communicate to me any other policy you may think is better. There is no public measure, whatever, the result of which causes me half the solicitude. I believe that the success of *mankind* in sustaining republican institutions depend upon it. I have the pleasure to forward a slip from a newspaper along with this announcing the arrival of Gen[l] Duff Green as U. S. Consul at this place. No officer of any Government, or of any grade has ever been welcomed among us with as much cordiality and respect as the Gen[l] was on his arrival. It is a matter of surprise here to every person, with whom I have conversed upon the subject that Gen[l] Green had not been appointed minister to Texas. I assure you the appointment could not be confered on a gentleman who would be more welcome to the Texian Nation in that capacity.

I have written in great haste. The Orleans packet that bears this has wrang its last bell. I have not time to read over what I have written and make the necessary corrections. You will be pleased therefore to excuse errors and omissions. I have the honor to be With great regard

Your friend and svt

MEMUCAN HUNT.

From Duff Green. C. C.

Mexico 28th Oct[r]. 1844

Private.

MY DEAR SIR From Gov Shannon's Official dispatch you will learn that he has as yet received no reply to his letter to the Mexican Minister on the subject of Texas. I learn that a reply is in the course of preparation and that it may be expected in the course of a few days. Gov Shannon[1] having determined to avail himself of the English Courier which leaves

[1] Wilson Shannon, U. S. minister in Mexico. See the next letter.

to morrow, I will remain a few days longer, that he may forward the reply by the Brig Lawrence which is now at Vera Cruz waiting his orders to convey me to Galveston.

I am convinced that it is *impossible* to obtain the consent of this Government to the Cession to the United States of Texas, California or any part of the public domain of Mexico whatever. I proceed to give you my reasons for thinking so.

The policy of Santa Anna has been for years—since the time of Mr Poinsett,[1] to foster a prejudice agt. the United States. His purpose has been to occupy the public mind of Mexico with the apprehension of an invasion from the United States, and make his Countrymen believe that he alone can protect them and the interests of Mexico. The Mexicans are ignorant and jealous of all foreigners and especially of the North Americans, and all the measures which Santa Anna has taken against foreigners are popular in Mexico. He excited a national sentiment throughout the whole Country, which is strengthened by the apprehensions of the Priests who fear that the whole country will be overrun by us and that the Confiscation of the Church property will follow. The fundamental law forbids the Executive to alienate any portion of the public Domain without the consent of Congress, and such is the state of parties that if either Congress or the Executive wished to Alienate Texas, it would be opposed by the other and made the pretence for a revolution.

Indeed Santa Anna left here on the 12th of September for Marugo and Clava, under a confident belief that the Army would pronounce against Congress and make him Protector for life. His partisans were divided, in opinion, many of them urging him to assume supreme power at once, but he feared that if he overthrew the Congress a counter Revolution would ensue, and he might forfeit his life. He has about ten thousand soldiers at Jallapa and Vera Cruz. that he might throw the responsibility on the congress, he availed himself of the occasion of the death of his wife to retire, and Canalizo a creature of his will was appointed President *ad interim*. The government press and the partisans of Santa Anna Every where denounced Congress for failing to make the necessary

[1] U. S. Minister in Mexico, 1825-1829; see p. 190.

appropriations for the "War of Texas" and thus endeavored to make the failure to vote the means of prosecuting that war the pretence for the overthrow of Congress and declaring Santa Anna *Protector* for life. The Army is nominally 35,000 men. Congress had voted 30,000 more and had voted an appropriation of four millions of dollars for that war,—to be raised by a special tax. Of that tax a very small part had been collected, and the greater part, more than it is believed can be realised, had been anticipated by drafts of the Government in favor of favorite contractors. It was with great difficulty that funds could be raised from week to week to pay these troops on which Santa Anna relies for personal protection, and instead of marching men into Texas, they cannot find money to send troops into the Districts where their presence is required to enforce the Collection of the Taxes.

When I reached here it was believed that things had reached a crisis. A Pronunciamento was daily expected. Santa Anna, his old wife not yet one month in the grave, had married a young Girl of 16, by proxy, and I met her on the way to Jallapa, under the charge of her Godfather (Camdo) where she was to meet her husband. The plan was for the Army to pronounce against Congress and to call Santa Anna from his retirement who was to sacrifice his domestic happiness and, leaving his young wife, again to take upon himself the cares of state to save his Country. In the mean time the opposition in Congress and throughout the Country gained strength. The Senators and deputies became bolder. They had voted four millions for the war of Texas, Santa Anna demanded ten millions more. The opposition demanded an exhibit of the manner in which the four millions had been applied and defended themselves upon the ground that the sum voted had been absorbed by the ministers and that they would vote no more without a change of ministers. Each party professing to wish the reconquest of Texas, and both using the Texas question as a means of masking their own movements. Both relying on the Army, not to reconquer Texas but to revolutionise the Government. Santa Anna has the advantage of being in power, and of having surrounded himself by men who are dependant upon him for their Commissions, is without the means of paying his troops. The exhausted condition

of the treasury and the unwillingness of the people to pay direct taxes, must soon bring a crisis. In one district a tax collector was killed and in another the people have refused to pay and troops left here yesterday to enforce the payment. It is well understood that both parties are doing all they can to defeat the measures of each other and to throw upon their opponents the odium of the Revolution which both declare must soon take place. The opposition wish to drive Santa Anna to pronounce against and dissolve the Congress, hoping that the reaction in favor of the Constitutional Government and of Congress will enable them to effect a Counter revolution. In which case Santa Anna and his principal advisers will in all probability lose their lives. On the other hand Santa Anna thinks that as Things are getting worse and worse the Country will soon. call him to the exercise of absolute power, in which case he will shoot his enemies.

In such a state of things—In the midst of a Civil Conflict, where each party is seeking pretences to murder and confiscate the property of their opponents, and where the principle [is maintained] that it is treason to sell any part of the public domain to the United States, it is worse than folly to suppose that either party can alienate any part of Texas or California.

I have ascertained too that the Mexican bond holders in England, hold a mortgage on the Californias to secure the payment of twenty six millions of deferred debt, which mortgage expires in 1847.[1]

You will naturally ask, if such is the condition of the Country, why is it the Mexican Government will not sell? As the Gov^{t}. is so much in debt and unable to raise money but by direct taxation why do they not disband the army, economise their expenditure and sell a part of their territory which they must soon lose by revolution?

The answer is "that the arguments of the public interest and public duty, are in vain addressed to both parties. The purpose of Santa Anna and his party is to establish a military despotism, and hence they find an argument in the discord and disorganisation of the government. Both parties look to power as a means of enriching the official encumbents. The

[1] So ran the frequent rumor at this time, but Bancroft, California, IV, 298, says there is no evidence that it was true.

embarrassed Condition of the Treasury, enables them to purchase in demand against the Government at a discount, and the command of the Treasury enables them to pay the claims thus purchased in preference to all others. It is said a seat in the Cabinet with a salary of $6000 per annum enables a minister to realise $500,000 per annum. Santa Anna himself, it is said, makes a large sum by the sale of Commissions in the Army and in the Customs, and besides he has large Haciendas on which he feeds large droves of cattle, which are sold to the Army at three times the usual market prices.

You will see that the war against Texas is the pretence on which both parties are seeking office and that the embarrassed condition of the Treasury is used as a means of enriching those who have possession of the Government. When to this you add the fact that the state of public opinion is such that any party, being in power, and selling Texas or California to the United States, would be driven from office and that the chances are as ten to one that their doing so would be used as an argument for shooting them and confiscating their property, You can then understand why I say that it [is] impossible to make any new arrangement with Mexico as to Texas or California for some time yet to come, at least.

I believe that there is one way and but one in which all that our Government desire and much more than you ask for can be had, but I am not now prepared to submit my Views to paper. I reserve them for personal explanation, and until after I have visited Texas.

In the mean time permit me to call your attention to the Mortgage on the Californias. I am told that it contains a condition that if the money is not paid in 1847, the Creditors shall take possession of the Country. The British Consul Gen'l. here is the agent of the Creditors. I have endeavored to obtain a copy of the Deed, but cannot do it without paying fifteen hundred or two thousand dollars for it. Permit me to say that it is important that you should obtain this through our minister here or in London, as the possession of California will necessarily command the settlements on the Columbia.

The Tactics of the opposition is not to assail Santa Anna personally, but his ministers. He has been compelled to

sacrifice Trigueros, Minister of the Treasury, and others are expected to follow. Each removal adds to the list of his enemies, and as each new incumbent comes into office to play the game of his predecessor, and enrich himself and his associates by plundering the treasury, the same opposition Continues. Thus in the face of Governor Shannon's letter and the declaration that a war with the United States is inevitable the House of Deputies by a vote of 43 to 13 a few days ago, refused the loan of ten millions demanded by Santa Anna. The present Government may therefore temporise, but we have nothing to hope from Mexico. They cannot reconquer Texas but they will not sell Texas. The revolution here may be delayed. It may not be a bloody or a protracted Civil War, but to me it appears that a revolution is inevitable and that nothing but an army can prevent a Civil War. The Army is said to be as much divided as the Congress.

Yours truly DUFF GREEN

From Wilson Shannon.[1] C. C.

Private.

Legation of the U S of A. Mexico, Oct 29th 1844.

Dr SIR The draft of a note you had the goodness to send me, I considered so entirely applicable to the present State of things here, that I made no alterations in it, except of a verbal character as you will See by my Despatch.[2] It has produced quite a sensation in this city, its contents having been made known by the officers of the Government. I have received no answer. I am told Santa Anna, to whom it was sent at Jalapa, has directed it to be transmited to Congress and that it will be Sent in tomorrow. I am also advised that he is not displeased with the document as he thinks he can turn it to his advantage by forcing Congress to take the responsibility of abandoning the Texas war. Neither Santa Anna nor Congress will think of

[1] Wilson Shannon (1802-1887), who had been twice governor of Ohio, was from April, 1844, to May, 1845, minister of the United States in Mexico. He was afterwards a member of Congress, and was governor of Kansas during a part of the period of civil strife in that territory.

[2] See Shannon's letter to Rejon, October 14, 1844, in Niles's Register, LXVII, 234. It follows closely the text of Calhoun's dispatch to Shannon, September 10, 1844, ibid., 232, and Works, V, 364.

renewing the war against Texas so long as it is believed that the U. S. will have to be encountered as well as Texas. Congress will now be compelled to act and provide the means to carry on the war or abandon it. The former they will not do for various reasons. In the first place they are determined to give Santa Anna no more money, and in the second place they have no Sourse from which to raise the money without producing a revolution. The five millions appropriation will not produce more than two and a half and that is already exhausted and more than antisipated by drafts on the treasury. The people are now taxed beyond indurence and while I am writing the Government is sending troops to the South to enforce the payment of this tax. Their retched prohibatory system has nearly Cut off all revenue from importations and the internal resourses are gone. I See it is predicted in some of the papers in the U. S. that Mexico will declare war against the U. S.; there is as much probability that the Emperor of China will do so. Gen' Green will give you the details of the political rumors and speculations here. I did not think it prudent to put them in my official Dispatch. His views and opinions of things here may, I think, be relied on. The U. S. Brig Laurence (Capt Jarvis) is now at Vera Cruz waiting my orders. As my Dispatch and Accompanying documents are highly important and should be in Washington City before the meeting of Congress I have transmited them to Capt Jarvis and directed him to go direct to Pensacola and to deliver my dispatches at that place to Lieutenant Pennock who is instructed to convey them to Washington by the nearest and quickest route. Considering the uncertainty of the mails this season of the year, and the possibility of the packages being miscarried or not reaching you in time I have thought it would best meet with your approbation to pursue the course I have above stated.

There has been a new minister of finance appointed in the place of Mr. Trigueros who has been permited to retire. The new minister is about issuing a general order suspending the payment of all drafts on the Treasury for the want of money. It is said and, I believe truly, that there is not a dollar in the Treasury. The next instalment due our Citizens will be payable in a day or two but I do not think it will be possible for the Government to raise the means to make the payment. It

is said that exersions are making to raise the money but the belief here is so strong among the monied men that a revolution is inevitable that they Cannot be induced upon any consideration to advance the government money.

Yours with great respect

WILSON SHANNON.

From Ambrose Dudley Mann.[1] C. C.

Bremen Oct. 31, 1844

Unofficial—Private

DEAR SIR; It is contended, and I doubt not honestly believed, by no inconsiderable number of the citizens of the United States, that Great Britain has no designs—either immediate or ulterior—upon Texas. In this is to be found the only justification for the rejection by the Senate of the Annexation Treaty. Mr. Clay in one of his letters says: "If any European nations entertains *any ambitious designs* upon Texas, such as that of *colonizing her, or in any way subjecting her, I should consider it as the imperative duty of the government of the United States to oppose such designs by the most firm and determined resistance, to the extent if necessary by appealing to arms.*" This I am disposed to regard as being a sentiment which prevails generally amongst the party of which he is the acknowledged leader. Of course it cannot be in favor with the *nether end* of it—the Abolitionists and Old Hartford conventionists.

Now it is imperative, on every lover of his country, who is under the impression "that any European nation" "entertains any ambitious designs upon Texas," to contribute all in his power to the establishment of the fact, and I, therefore, under a solemn sense of duty, transmit to you *my* testimony. About eight months ago a Treaty was concluded at Paris between the Hanse-towns and Texas by their respective representatives, Baron von Rompf[2] resident Minister there, and Col. Daingerfield, accredited to the Hague and the Hanse-towns. It was forwarded soon afterwards to Bremen and Hamburgh

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[1] Ambrose Dudley Mann, afterward noted as a Confederate commissioner in England, was at this time United States consul at Bremen.

[2] Rumpf.

for ratification. The "Burgher's Convent" of the former City, before which it was laid for approval, accepted it and authorized the Senate to transmit it to the capitol of Texas for the action of Congress, which assembles in December, which, as I learn from a high source, was accordingly done. An Exequator was then granted to the Consul for Texas. At Hamburgh the Treaty met with slight opposition, some of its stipulations not being altogether satisfactory, and it was postponed for further consideration. But no question, as I understand, was raised relative to the independence of Texas. Her *right to negotiate Treaties had been recognized by the Hanseatic Minister in his negotiations with the Texas Chargé at Paris.* It is proper for me to remark, that during the early stage of the pendency of this matter at Hamburgh, tidings reached Europe that an annexation Treaty had been concluded at Washington. British influence now commenced its wily operations, successfully but unseen, and final action was procrastinated and avoided on the Treaty, so long, that about three weeks since Col. Dangerfield who was staying at the Hague, suspecting that something was wrong, repaired to Hamburgh. Immediately after his arrival there the Mexican Consul General addressed a note to the Senate of Hamburgh, protesting against the ratification of the Treaty with Texas; and, as I am assured, subsequently refused to certify the papers of the ship "Najade," bound to Vera Cruz with merchandize, until he received from that body a satisfactory decision. The Treaty of "Navigation and commerce" between Mexico and the Hanse-towns expired by limitation in August and as the 12 months notice, required before it can expire, has not been given by either of the contracting parties, *Mexico now threatens if Texas is acknowledged by Hamburgh to make reprisals upon Hanseatic vessels.* I have no *positive* evidence of the truth of this latter statement, but for the last day or two, it has been currently rumored. The Senate of Bremen received a note, also, from the Mexican Consul at this place, making a similar protestation to that at Hamburgh. A question arose whether Bremen should recede from the position which it had taken and notify the government of Texas of this determination, previous to the meeting of Congress, or disregard the Protest utterly, with the risk of alienating itself from Ham-

burgh the last of its confederates (Lubeck excepted) of the once powerful Hanseatic League? It was a most momentous one, and public opinion as far as it expressed itself, preponderated in favor of the former policy. Such a trial Bremen never experienced. While the excitement was at its heighth, I was, unofficially, asked for a frank expression of my sentiments on the subject. As an American citizen (not as U. S. Consul)—as one who felt as if the unalterable principles of justice had been grossly, wantonly outraged by the vile conduct of Mexico, urged on by England—I gave them fully, unreservedly. It is revolting to the feelings of humanity, to the philanthrophy which characterizes the age in which we live, that the civilized world should permit Mexico to raise a question touching the right of Texas to enter into treaties at this late period. The battle of San Jacinto terminated the struggle between the two countries and the war waged since by Mexico, is merely a *quasi* one. I am now *confidentially* advised, from a high quarter, that come what may Bremen will adhere rigidly to her original purpose. At her head is the great *Burghermeister* Smidt, not only the master spirit of the Hanseatic Republics, but one of the most distinguished personages in Germany, renowned all over Europe as one of the most talented members of the Congress of Vienna of 1815. And here allow me to ask a question, what stand would the United States assume, if in consequence of the policy adopted by Bremen, one of her ships should be captured by a Mexican man-of-war while on a voyage to Galveston? It is known that Bremen has no Navy whatever, to protect her commerce.

Hamburgh is an English city,—almost as much under the control of the British Ministry, as Washington is under the control of the Federal Government. Its merchants derive their chief benefits, in Trade, from England. They are in reality English factors and the nation does everything that it can to sustain and encourage them. The postage on Letters from London to Hamburgh, by the Royal mail, is only about one-third of that charged to Altona, when the distance to the two places is the same! If Great Britain had said to Hamburgh, I have recognized Texas long since; it is your duty to do so, it is idle to suppose that the matter would have been unnecessarily delayed for one moment. But unfortunately in her

diplomacy and in her general relation to the world—savage or civilized—she is actuated by no higher principle than *interest*. If she can cut off Texas from the German markets, she embarrases in a pecuniary point of view its citizens, and puts them in a condition to accept such overtures as she may hereafter make. If she can prevent its recognition by other powers she creates additional objections in Europe against its annexation to the U. States. I have watched her stealthy movements so closely for the last two years that I can see through all her artificies. Hanover, whose king is one of her *subjects*, is ready to act any part which may be assigned it. Through him she has control of the Elbe, and uses it when necessary to tame any refractory spirit that may be evinced at Hamburgh.

The Mexican Consul General is said to be on terms of the closest intimacy with the British Consul General, a functionery who receives a salary four times as large as that given to you, in payment of the weighty duties discharged by you, and who no doubt uses it freely, in the accomplishment of important measures. Moreover I have been kindly permitted to read letters from English Merchants in Hamburgh to their correspondents, expressing the greatest delight at the "bold stand," as they termed it, taken by the Mexican Consuls.

The "Protests" of certain powers in Europe and the manifest opposition of others against the annexation of Texas, should be regarded by our government in the light they are intended, as *mere scare-crows*. No nation dare go to war with us. Rothschild holds the purse-strings, and he will never untie them for the purposes of war anywhere. His own safety forbids such a belief, for let any state become involved in war with America and revolution would succeed revolution in Europe. But the time may come when Great Britain will be immensely formidable to us. In the unsettled condition of Spain she may secure a foothold on Cuba, and through her machinations Texas, rather than come under the galling yoke of Mexico, may throw itself into her arms. Then, then indeed, she would no longer feel that dependence on us for our Cotton, which now exists, and surrounding us by her armies and her fleets, she would humble us to the very dust of the earth. Would to Heaven that my countrymen could stand where I stand, and see what I have seen for the last two years, of

British duplicity. With one voice they would exclaim to their riders "*give us Texas if possible without a War, but give us Texas whatever the consequences*".

In a few weeks I shall forward to you a Report of the political condition of the "Deutsche Zollverein"—the production and consumption therein—(as well as in the other states of Germany &c)—of tobacco.

I enclose you in a slip from the "Richmond Enquirer" of the 25th June a Letter which I wrote to the Editors over the signature of "Agricola". The opinions expressed in relation to *France*, from an intercourse with many people of that country during the summer I am sure are not without the best foundation. You will perceive the necessity of regarding this note as *altogether private;* and believe me

Your Friend Faithfully

A. D. MANN.

From William R. King.[1] C. C.

(Private) [Oct. or Nov. 1844]

MY DEAR SIR Mr. Otis, our Consul at Basle, has recently been in Paris, to confer with me relative to the affair of Koster. I found him to be an intelligent Gentleman, and judging from his conduct and efforts to procure Koster's arrest, I should say he is a zealous and active agent of the Government. The compensation his consulate affords is insufficient for his support. Mr. Otis could, without any inconvenience to persons engaged in commerce with Switzerland, discharge all the duties of Consul for the whole Confederation; this would afford to him the means of living as an American Consul should. The Consul at Zurich is a Swiss permanently settled there, and extensively engaged in commerce; and the Merchants are generally opposed to submitting their Invoices to a Consul whose commercial operations conflict with their own. The objection seems to be reasonable, and wherever our Government can command the services of native citizens

[1] William R. King (1786-1853), who had been senator from Alabama from 1818 to 1844, was Minister to France from April 1844 to September, 1846, after which he served again in the Senate from 1848 to 1853, and was Vice-President under Pierce, dying early in the latter's administration.

who are not engaged in commerce, it would certainly be desirable to do so. Would it not also be advantageous to reduce the number of our consular agents and extend the sphere of the duties of those employed? I make this suggestion from a conviction that the character of our Country not unfrequently suffers by the improper conduct of its consuls at points where the fees of office are insufficient to afford them a support. Their official station gives to them a credit which unfortunately they but too often abuse. Would it not be well to present to the next Congress a plan for the revision of our entire Consular system? The subject of emancipation in the French Colonies engages much attention here, and will probably be brought before the Chambers this Winter. The Abolitionists of England, commanding imence pecuniary resources, are opperating, I fear but too successfully, through the medium of the French press: which is altogether venal. It is well understood that many of the prominent Journals in Paris are in the pay of the society of Exeter Hall; and they abound in publications containing the most false and exagerated statements on the subject of slavery. If France influenced by the efforts now making, should abolish slavery in her Colonies, Spain and Brazill will be compelled to yield to the pressure which will be brought to bear upon them; and the United States will be left to stand alone, with the whole civilized world against her. Tis here then, that this great question, so vitally affecting our interests, should be met. The selfish objects of the British Government should be clearly and fully presented to the people of France. They should be made to understand that under the pretext of humanity towards the Slave, the real object is to ingross to herself the entire production of Shugar and in a great degree, that of cotton and Rice and through the medium of her East India possessions. To effect this the Press must be employed, which can only be effected with money. The Delegates of the French Colonies are doing all they can to enlighten the public mind, and to counteract the efforts of England; but as I know their means are limited, I have thought that a small portion of the secret or contingent fund at your disposal could not be more usefully employed, than by procuring the insertion in the Paris papers (now closed against us) of well written articles, calculated to

disabuse the public mind here, as to the actual condition of the Slaves of our Country. Indeed I have long thought that our Representatives abroad could greatly subserve the public interest, could they be allowed access to the press in the countries to which they are accredited,—as it is, they see our Institutions stigmatized and our people calumniated without the means of counteracting the false impressions thus made to our prejudice. Should you think my suggestions worthy of your attention, and that you can with propriety apply a part of the fund to the object designated, I would recommend Mr. Walsh our present Consul,[1] as admirably qualified to prepare the proper articles for publication, as his long residence in France has enabled him to form correct opinions, not only of its Government and people; but as to the best mode of opperating either on their Judgement or feelings. He would engage in it with the utmost zeal; for his heart is truly American.

I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. and Mrs. Clemson often during their short stay in Paris; and of presenting Mr. Clemson to the King and Royal Family, by whom he was most cordially received. I have no doubt they will be pleased with Brussels, which I consider a much more agreeable residence than Paris. The climate here is execrable, cold and damp. I have suffered much from rheumatism, and my hand is so disabled that it is with difficulty I can hold my pen. I fear the Winter will knock me up entirely. The accounts I receive of the Presidential Contest are cheering. Polk and Dallas have united our distracted Party, and with the aid of the Texas question, are carrying all before them. God grant them success; for I should view the election of Clay as a death blow to our national prosperity, if not to the Government itself. Two children have been born to the Royal Family since my arrival here, and the King informed me, that he had with his own hand, written two letters to the President informing him of the interesting events. No answer to them has as yet been received by me. In matters of that kind there should be as little delay as possible, as much importance is attached to them here. Neither have I received your letter to Governor

[1] Robert Walsh, author of An Appeal from the Judgment of Great Britain respecting the United States, and of other works.

Shannon, although those addressed to Mr. Irving and Mr. Wheaton[1] arrived safely and were delivered to them. If there is any place where it is of importance that the American Minister should be constantly advised of all that relates to the movements connected with the Texas question, it certainly is here. At present all looks well and I have no reason to apprehend any action on the part of this Government to which we could reasonably object, still it is of the utmost importance that I should be kept advised of all that takes place on our side of the Water. The King of the French has returned from his visit to Queen Victoria. He is much elated with the reception he met with, which was no doubt flattering. But all this billing and cooing of the Sovereigns cannot change the character of their people, nor eradicate the deep rooted hostility which the[y] entertain towards each other. Louis Phillippe manifests, I fear, too anxious a desire to maintain peace with his haughty Neighbours. Tis certainly his true policy, but may be pressed too far. The French are a proud and sensitive people; and any manifestation on his part of truckling to England, would arouse a spirit in the nation, which would probably prove fatal to his dynasty. I regret that he is not as popular as he desires to be, for France was never more prosperous than under his wise and pacific policy, and I sincerely wish that his reign may be long. He is emphatically a man suited to the times; for having been taught in the school of adversity he has a just appreciation of men and things which peculiarly fits him for the high destiny to which he has been called. I converse with him often, and freely; and my intercourse with him has been all that I could desire. Mr. Guizot is able and adroit. He has a strong leaning towards England, whose Government is his beau ideal. He is also represented by those who profess to know him well, to be deceptive and false. Had this character of the prime Minister been furnished me on my arrival, I should have reduced his conversation relative to Texas to writing, and submitted to him for correction; so as to bind him to his declarations, beyond the possibility of cavil or denyal. His enemies say he will not hesitate to lie, whenever he thinks he

[1] Washington Irving, minister to Spain; Henry Wheaton, minister to Prussia.

can gain by so doing. He is probably at this very time one of the most unpopular men in France, yet sustained by the King, he will command a decided majority of the Chambers, and for the present is secure in his position. Present me respectfully to the President and Lady. Also to my Friends Wilkins, Mason, Bibb, and Nelson and Krawley [Crallé]. With the highest respect

I am faithfully your Ob^t. Servt.

WILLIAM R. KING

From Francis W. Pickens. O. C.

Senate Chamber [Columbia]. 6 Nov. 1844.

MY DEAR SIR I enclose back the letter and have only to say that I have enquired from all quarters to ascertain as near as possible what was the popular vote in this State in favour of Polk &c.

The result is that all agree that the aggregate vote of the state is fully 58,000 and that in no calculation can they give Clay more than 6000. So that would leave Polk a majority of 52,000. I think this is about right.

I have not heard a word from you. McDuffie has written a letter to the Speaker Colcock denouncing my resolutions, and urging immediate and decided steps. What is his precise idea as to the mode of action I am not aware as he does not state it in his letter to Colcock. But judging from what these very few violent men, who seem to feel with him and are shewing his letters, say and do I should infer that cecession is the remedy.

I have no idea that such a course will meet with any approbation. My resolutions will pass the House, I am now informed by a large majority. Some of the Union men desired me and beged me to agree to withdraw the last resolution, but I would not consent to the slightest modification, and told them if they were to split, they must take the *Responsibility*, and the consequence is that they will now vote it. Some extreme men make the House a very combustable body. You have no idea how exciteable they are, and how little knowledge they have of general politics. . . .

In haste but Truly

F. W. PICKENS.

From Duff Green.[1] C. C.

Private. Mexico 12th. Novr 1844

My dear Sir I have been detained here much longer than I anticipated and refer you to Governor Shannon's dispatches for the causes. Benjamin's[2] letters to you will have prepared you in some measure, for events here. They are now hastening to a crisis. There is great dissatisfaction with Santa Anna, persons speak against him openly and without restraint, but the press is afraid to speak and hence, as the country is large and rumor always magnifies or misrepresents events it is difficult for any one to ascertain the truth, and such is the want of Confidence and Tendency to change that if we could ascertain the truth to-day, no one could tell what may come up tomorrow.

This much I believe to be true, that a large majority of Congress are opposed to Santa Anna, that the opposition is organized, that it extends through all the northern provinces, that five or more of the principal northern Commanders are pledged to take part, that Parades[3] and the Governor of Jalisco have already pronounced against Santa Anna demanding that he shall be deposed, that another President shall be installed, and that Santa Anna and his ministers shall be held to account for the monies they have received, that in the south the Indians have cut off the right hands of the tax collectors, and many persons refuse to pay the tax for the war agt Texas.

Canaliso has issued a proclamation saying that the tax was levied to enable the Govt to reconquer Texas and calling on the people to pay it, the Government have requested Santa Anna to march against Parades and suppress the revolt in Jalisco, and he is now on the way with his Jalappa troops amounting to 7.500 infantry and 1500 horse with 20 Cannon. In the mean time there is not a Dollar in the treasury, and the resources of the country being dried up there is no means of obtaining but by forced loans and siezing the church revenues. There are two ways of doing this, one is the confis-

[1] Since passing the proof-sheets of General Green's letters of January 24, 1842, and September 29, 1843, the editor has discovered that the former, and an extract from the latter, were printed in Green's Facts and Suggestions, pp. 153, 85.

[2] Benjamin E. Green, the writer's son; see his letters of April 11 and May 30, 1844, *supra*.

[3] Paredes.

cation and sale of the property, the other is by forced loans. Santa Anna, it is said, argues that if the property is confiscated and sold, it will command but little, that the better way is to permit the church to hold the property and tax it, this he calls "milking" the church.

As far as I can learn there is no confidence in those who are opposed to Santa Anna. I have asked many, Who is to lead the opposition? No one can answer. I have asked, what is the purpose of the opposition? No one can say, further than that it is opposition to Santa Anna. When I ask, will you better your condition? The answer is—"I dont know." When I ask, will those whom you are to put in office be more capable, or more honest,? the answer is—more Capable? No. More honest? No. When I ask, what are you to gain by the overthrow of Santa Anna.? the answer is—I dont know.

Therefore when you remember that Santa Anna is a man of decided talent, that he knows his own people well, that he has command of the Government and is at the head of the army, that altho Congress refuse to give him money and the resources of the treasury are dried up,—You must remember that he has a body of dependant partisans, that his opponents altho organised as to the wish to oust him from office and to put themselves in his place,—they are not organised on any plan which will give them greater resources of men or money than he has, or to [the] Country a better Government than he gives them, and taking into account the character of the people, it is obvious that the movement may enable him to overthrow the Congress and establish himself as Dictator, but I see no prospect of his overthrow.

I take it for granted that you will therefore have to deal with Santa Anna, and You may assume that such is the state of public Opinion that any party coming into power on his down fall will be compelled to take as strong or stronger ground against the United States than he has done. What he has done and is prepared to do if he had the power you will see in the public dispatches of our minister.

Indeed I am convinced that Santa Anna's object is to isolate Mexico from the rest of the world. His policy is to flatter the vanity and national pride of Mexico, and to make his people believe that he is indispensable to their protection

against the encroachments of foreign powers and especially against the United States; that he does not wish for war with the United States, may be; but he wishes that our relations shall always be such as to furnish him with a pretence for keeping up an army which he finds indispensable to keep himself in power.

You therefore cannot adjust the question of Texas by the Consent of Mexico. He would not have that question adjusted if he could. If Texas were annexed—it might not lead to war—I doubt much if it would, because Santa Anna Knows that he cannot sustain himself in a war with us, and therefore he would much prefer angry negotiations which would serve his purpose as a pretext for keeping up his army, and levying contributions, and for driving all Americans out of Mexico. He fears contact with intelligence, as the bigoted Catholic fears the bible and from the same instinct.

You cannot have peace with Mexico without a war. They have so long bullied, insulted and plundered us with impunity that they have lost all respect for us as a nation, altho they fear us as a people.

Their policy towards France and England has been of much the same character, and altho England has done much to aid in driving Americans out of the country that the trade may be left in the hands of Englishmen, Such has been the war on all foreigners that the Englishmen themselves would be glad to see them whipped into a proper sense of what is due to other nations.

But upon all these matters I refer you to my Son, who has many facts in confirmation of what I now say, and to Govr. Shannon's correspondence. It seems to me that the Government of the United States have no alternative, that they cannot be content with the annexation of Texas. They must demand a withdrawal of the insolent charges and imputations contained in M^r. Rejon's notes,[1] and an immediate adjustment of all our Claims against Mexico. This will not be done and a war must be the consequence.

Govr. Shannon was at first resolved to demand his passports, indeed he had written his letter demanding them, and he was

[1] See Niles, LXVII, 260-266.

only prevented from sending it by a belief that the course which he adopted would relieve the Government from the charge of wishing to place the United States in a position which would necessarily lead to war.

By suspending his official relations until he can receive instructions from you, he enables the President to throw upon Congress its just responsibility, and I cannot permit myself to believe that Congress will hesitate to sustain what Gov. Shannon has done. Indeed the time has come when we have no alternative but to punish Mexico and other nations into a proper respect for national character.

I have been told by two of the best informed men in Mexico that party spirit ran so high and that we are so much divided among ourselves that we cannot go to war, and you will see in Rejon's letters that he relies on the opposition to President Tyler to take part with Mexico in any question growing out of the measures of President Tyler's administration. Such is the impression which the British Legation here have endeavored to make, and I have it from a source that I cannot doubt that the British minister has advised and approves the course which Mexico has taken in this matter. The policy of England is to bring Mexico and the United [States] into collision, because they think that the effect will be to leave the trade of Mexico in English hands. The foreign trade of Mexico is now almost entirely cut off. It is of little value and that little is chiefly monopolised by British Subjects. As it is, the trade is lost to us. The treaty is a dead letter and serves as a snare to entrap our citizens. We have no means of regaining the trade of Mexico but by chastising them into decent behavior and the advantage of a war with Mexico will be that we can indemnify ourselves while by chastising Mexico, we will show other nations what we can and will do and command their respect also. If you could go abroad as I have done you would feel that we have lost caste and that nothing but a war can regain the position we have lost. A war with Mexico will cost us nothing, and reinstate us in the estimation of other nations. I need not dilate on this subject to you. You know that I am for peace and that I would be one of the last to advise a war, because I know the influence which it will have on the question of duties, but we have gone so far that I see

no means of avoiding a conflict with Mexico, and I do not hesitate to give you my opinion. I do not express this opinion to others. I leave you to act as your own better judgment may direct.

Your friend

DUFF GREEN

From Wilson Shannon.[1] C. C.

Private

Legation of the U. S of A. Mexico, Nov. 12, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR: The dispatch which I forward to you by Mr. Green will inform you of the State of things here. Mr. Green will give you a full history of all that has transpired and of the present State and condition of the Country. The insolence of this Government is beyond indurence and if it is submited to in one case it will only give incouragement to its repitition. I think we should take high ground with Mexico and let her distinctly understand that She must retract her insults and do us justice in all matters of complaint which we have against her. I am fully convinced we can do nothing with Mexico as to the settlement of any of the difficulties we have with her until we either whip her, or make her believe we will do so. So long as She thinks we will confine our complaints to deplomatic notes She will treat them with an indifference amounting to insult. I think we ought to present to Mexico an *ultimatum*. My last note to Mr. Rejon[2] may appear rather severe but I think it was called for and that a more mild note would [have] produced no effect, on this people. I will wait with some solicitude your further instructions.

Yours with great respect

WILSON SHANNON.

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[1] See also his dispatch of this date, in Niles, LXVII, 265.
[2] November 8, 1844, Niles, LXVII, 262—264.

From Andrew J. Donelson.[1] C. C.

Houston Texas Novr 18 1844

Private

Dr Sir, I refer you to the enclosed letter to the President, having nothing yet official to communicate to the Department. Since writing the enclosed I learn that there is some possibility that the Secretary of state may have gone to Galveston by the coast route. But there is no doubt of President Houstons being now on his way to Washington and that he will reach there about the time I will.

Genl Duff Green was looked for at Galveston when I left. The prisoners who have been liberated from the castle of Perote report that they saw no preparation for the threatened invasion: and they are of opinion that none is seriously contemplated by Genl Santa Anna.

The further I advance into this country the stronger is the evidence of the anxiety of the people for incorporation into our union. Much is said about the activity of the British and French parties to defeat our policy. But I shall not trouble you with the probabilities in relation to such overtures until I present my credentials, and have an interview with the President who will doubtless disclose to me all that has passed between this and other Governments.

My attention is directed to the topographical and geographical features of the country, and the effect they will have upon the population. My object will be to be prepared to anticipate the action of the people in the alternative of Co^l Polk's defeat, and to judge as correctly as I can of the policy which is best for us in that event. Whether it is worth the effort to make another trial for annexation in case of Mr Clay's election will be a grave question. So strong is the attachment of the great body of the Texans to our Union, that I am not sure they might not be induced to stand the hazard of another war with Mexico, rather than take independence with a condition imposed by Great Britain against annexation at any future day.

President Houston has been on the frontier this fall and has concluded Treaties I learn with several of the Indian

[1] Now chargé in Texas. See Calhoun's letter to him, of September 16, 1844, in Part I, *supra*.

tribes. No one has spoken of difficulties growing out of the acts of the Indians within our limits: and I therefore take it for granted that the occasion for the requisition authorized conditionally by my instructions will not arise, or rather, has not arisen.

You shall hear from me fully and constantly as soon as I have an interview with the President.

y^rs truly and respectfully

A. J DONELSON.

From John S. Barbour. C. C.

Caltapa Nov 21st 1844

MY DEAR SIR. The election is over and whether for weal or woe is yet not entirely certain.

Should Colo: Polk close up his ears to all evil counsellors, reduce the expenditures,—bring down the Tariff to those expenditures,—keep the patronage for principles, and not for partizans; hold the appointing power as a Trustee for wise and virtuous ends; divorce the Treasury and the Banks, divorce the patronage from party, and throw reform chiefly on retrenchment,—Then his election will be a blessing. If however this great effort of patriotic ardour shall end only in like results with that of 1829, the publick heart will grow sick under disappointment, and will languish into stagnant and putrid quiescence, which will render it wholly incapable of any future effort of disinterested patriotism. It will have spasm and convulsion; but its healthy action is gone forever. That you will be in the Administration is the expectation of every Manly Spirit of every party. The Whigs as well as the Republicans, throw their expiring and their kindling hopes on you. I dread the influence of Genl Jackson in this particular. Were it a private matter exclusively with you and he, the old man w^d follow the better impulses of his wiser thoughts.

But he is impressed with the belief, that persevering injustice to you is necessary to preserve his place in the page of history. Without recollecting that the Historic Muse knows

neither love nor fear, he cannot be disencumbered of the thought, that he is to be as puissant when in his grave, as when wielding his vast power through his vast popularity.

Mr Polk should know, first—that his election is the effect of Moral Causes. That personally he has not a feather's weight of power in the deliberations of the publick. That to his principles mainly is he indebted for his election—and to that Moral power which S°. Carolina and Virginia alone carried to his aid.

Of South Carolina I need not say a word. Without your friends in Virginia, the election wd. have gone for Clay almost without a struggle. The party was a *Caput Mortuum*, until the Spirit of life was breathed into it by the Calhoun party. *They* fought the battle from the blue ridge to the Capes of Virginia; and from the Kentucky and Ohio borders through and over the Alleghanies. If the President elect offer you a seat in his Cabinet, I am justified in saying that your friends wish you to accept it, clearly understanding in advance the principles on which the Government is henceforth to be conducted. Without this preliminary understanding, they think you would prefer private life, and with it, they believe that your sense of public duty will prevail over private inclinations. As these are the Views of your sincere and disinterested friends in every quarter of Virginia that I have heard from, I feel myself at leave to write them to you. The fact that you have taken lodgings at one of the public Taverns (for so the papers announce) leaves a painful suspense just now on the minds of many as to the part you will act in the new administration.

With profound Respect and true Regard Yours Sincerely,

J. S, Barbour

N. B. The only unknown vote of any State, is that of Tennessee. A patriot might find cogent reasons for the wish that it had fallen into the urn of the enemy—as we are safe without it.

J. S. B.

From Robert Walsh.[1] C. C.

Private.

Paris 29' Nov. 1844

DEAR SIR You must not think me too much of a scribbler if I offer you something like gossip, in addition to mere official communication. As the election of Mr Polk is deemed certain, it is presumed that you will continue in the Department of State. You may not, therefore, be loth to receive such matter as my various journal-reading and social intercourse enable me to furnish.

The day before yesterday, I was one of a large party at dinner, at the hotel of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I went early supposing that Mr Guizot would wish to converse with me about the result of your elections. This proved to be the case. He took me aside and asked several questions relating to the characters of men, the probable Composition of the Cabinet, and the construction of which the new American events were susceptible. I gave him such explanations and opinions as would naturally be entertained and expressed by one who has confidence in the patriotism and capacity of the elect of the American people, and who would imbue, if he could, all the foreign world with the same sentiment. It occurred to Mr. Guizot that your external policy would consist chiefly in resistance to foreign Abolition schemes, and to British aggrandizement in the Western hemisphere so far as this is resistible without war. He expected changes in the Tariff more extensive and radical than seem to me practicable or advisable. On the subject of *Texas* he expressed roundly his wish and aim that the Republic should remain independent. On this head, the *entente cordiale* between Mr. Guizot and Lord Aberdeen is, I believe, perfect, and I fear that a like understanding exists between them with regard to American Negro-slavery. The governments, or at least the present cabinets of Great Britain and France, require a complete fraternity, for their very existence. They know each other's dangers, and the necessity of mutual aid: they will not separate, or practically disagree,

[1] Robert Walsh (1784-1859) was an editor of several magazines, and writer of several books, of which the most noted was his *Appeal from the Judgment of Great Britain respecting the United States*, published in 1819. From 1845 to 1851, he was U. S. Consul in Paris.

about views and measures that affect only foreign countries. The dinner was given in honor of Marshal Bugeaud whose commanding person, energetic eye, and general carriage correspond to the scene and nature of his exploits. Mind, body and bearing give assurance of his fitness for future various public service abroad and at home. He relished my remark to him, that I regarded as one of his best achievements, the masterly repulse which he gave to the French Abolition Society who called on him to abolish the slave trade and slavery in the new French African empire. The company at the dinner-table consisted of eminent Conservatives, with all of whom, as well as with the Minister, he manifested strong political sympathies. Mr. de Bourqueney, the French Ambassador for Constantinople, with leave of absence, was among the guests. This government ranks him with the ablest of the diplomatic corps. He chatted with me, apart, for a half hour; mentioned the entire accord between him and the British envoy near the Porte, on all points, and his belief in the *vitality* of the Ottoman power; and signified some regret at the comparative backwardness and inaction of the United States, at Constantinople, considering the magnitude of American Commercial interests in the East, and American pretensions with regard to Christianity and the propagation of the Gospel. I observed that you could not associate or meddle with the politics and proceedings of the Five Powers whose concerns and plans are exclusively their own, while, however, you might certainly cooperate with them when objects common to the great Christian and mercantile nations were to be defended or promoted. . . .

I am, Dear Sir with perfect respect Your faithful Servt

ROBERT WALSH

From Duff Green. C. C.

Galveston, 29th Nov. 1844

MY DEAR SIR. I wrote to You from Mexico. There are a few additional facts worthy of your consideration. The contest in Mexico is a struggle on the part of Santa Anna to place himself at the head of an absolute despotism. He has labored to create a state of things in which the friend[s] of order would

give him absolute power as the only means of escaping the consequences of Anarchy. The opposition consist of all the elements of disaffection and as far as I can learn are without concert or plan. Some want power as the means of enriching themselves. Others have a vague notion that if Santa Anna is overthrown, things may be better but cannot be worse. Some are for a confederation, but all agree that the United States are dangerous neighbors and that which ever party comes into power must reconquer Texas.

The British Minister is openly supporting Santa Anna. Parades [Paredes] has offered to reduce the duties one half, and will no doubt Command the Ports on the Gulf of California. Mr Bankhead[1] told me that he had notified the Consul Genl. that the British Govt would not recognise any payments made to Parades, and offered no protection in case Santa Anna enforces a repayment.

I understood from a Mr West, formerly British Consul at Vera Cruz and now a large manufacturer at Jalappa that Mr. Packenham[2] was authorised by his Govt. to guarantee a loan of twelve millions at 5 per cent, on a pledge of one half the *additional* revenue in case three millions was applied to indemnify the Mexican Manufactures and the protective tariff was repealed. He showed me a copy of a letter addressed to Santa Anna by certain influential manufacturers [which] renews the proposition and I saw a letter from Mr. Bankhead to him, saying that he had no instructions, but pledging himself to cooperate all in his power to accomplish it. And the British Frigate Spartan left on the same day that I left Vera Cruz with despatches which I have no doubt had reference to this, and the present Crisis in Mexico.

Santa Anna can do nothing until he overthrows Congress and gets absolute power, because such is the state of parties that Congress will agree to no proposition coming from him and he will agree to nothing which Congress proposes. In this category it is the interest of those who wish a reduction of the tariff (and this proposition comes from the manufacturers and is sustained by the commercial interest,) to favor

[1] Charles Bankhead, British minister in Mexico.

[2] Richard Pakenham, British minister in Mexico from 1835 to 1843, afterward, 1843 to 1847, in the United States.

Santa Anna's projects, as when he has overthrown Congress and clothed himself with power he will be the Gov^{t}., and the parties have an interest in securing the guarantee of the British Gov^{t}. because they rely on that guarantee to secure the fulfilment of the arrangement in case of a counter revolution. I was told by a Mr Young, an Englishman, a partner and the business man of the House of Hargous and Co. of Vera Cruz that Santa Anna had been consulted in the arrangement and that he had pledged himself to carry it into effect in case he came into absolute power. This confirms what Mr West told me at Jalappa.

I believe that this is Santa Anna's only hope of maintaining himself in power. That he will prevail in the present struggle with Parades I entertain scarce a doubt. (Nothing but accident, I think can prevent it) Mr Bankhead told me that the trade with England was reduced to 600,000 £ per An. The whole customs duties I learn, from an authentic source are less than $4,000,000, the current expences including the army and usury exceed $30,000,000. The experiment of the contribution of 4,000,000$ for the Texas war will admonish Santa Anna that he cannot rely on direct taxes to pay the army and he knows that he cannot retain power without the means of paying his troops. This measure will enlist England more in *his* support and as his war upon foreigners has been the pretence upon which he has made his way to power, he will modify his measures thus far as a means of getting money and conciliating England.

He relies on Vera Cruz: as his Point d' appui. He always falls back there, and makes his movements from thence. He has erected two powerful batteries in aid of the Castle, and manned them with Paixhan Guns, carrying 96^{lb} balls, and has furnished them with a large supply of ball &c.

I can give you but little news about Texas. I refer you to my son for many additional details in relation to Mexico.

Yours truly

DUFF GREEN.

From Duff Green. C. C.

Galveston 29th Nov. 1844

Private.

MY DEAR SIR I enclose you a memo., which contains what seems to me important facts. It is not for me to advise, but I do not believe that you can accomplish any thing with Mexico unless you seeze upon Vera Cruz, and my opinion is that the best way of taking the fort is to take the town, and that this may be done with a very small force if it is done promptly. Santa Anna is an able man, and he has resolved to fall back on Vera Cruz, and this fort, but he is compelled to call off his whole force to meet Parades and cannot supply new troops for some two or three months. If we take the town and fort they should not be given up, as they are the keys to the commerce of Mexico. . . .

From Fitzwilliam Byrdsall. C. C.

New York Decr 2d 1844

DEAR SIR, I am highly gratified at the result of the presidential election, and my gratification would be without alloy if we had gained Tennessee or Maryland, for then James K. Polk would be president without the Vote, or over and above the Vote of New York. I do not like any president to be indebted to any one State for his election, and besides the game that has been played in this State ought not to give her politicians that influence with the coming administration which the fact of her Vote being absolutely necessary to our success would seem to deserve; for our success was not *their* work.

It was proclaimed at an early day by the partizans of Mr. Van Buren that "justice to the Cause and to the man" demanded his nomination, "that a Victory with any other chief would be no Victory at all." This was significant to the knowing ones, but not so, thank God, to the Democratic people. A secret circular was got up professedly in opposition to the annexation of Texas, but what was this but a mode of collecting and combining the adherents of Mr Van Buren

and his letter on the Texas question? The result of this move is the fact that Mr. Wright's majority in the State is about double the majority of Mr. Polk. Upon this point the great personal popularity of Mr. Wright is set forth as the cause of the difference, together with the State policy as to the public debt. But how comes it that the canal commissioners have also nearly doubled the majority of Mr. Polk? What has Mr. Wright or the canal commissioners to do with the state policy more than Mr. Polk? Not a whit—the honor belongs to Michael Hoffman and the legislature of a former year.

Whatever claims the democratic people of the state of New York have on the regard and consideration of Mr. Polk—her politicians of the Regency regime have none. The enthusiasm of the Young Democracy carried the Democratic people along. The exertions of Mr. Collector Van Ness effected that Union here which carried the city and saved the State. The great Union meeting was got up by him; all the Calhoun men—Tyler men—Cass men—Johnson men—Stewart men—cordially united on James K. Polk and not a man of them but rallied to his support. Not so all the friends of Mr. Van Buren. The Democrats who voted for Wright and the canal commissioners, but not for Mr. Polk, who were they?

And yet there is now scarcely a prominent office that friends of Mr. Van Buren are not candidates for. It is becoming evident every day that they are going for a restoration of the old set as far as they can get at it. They want the removal of Van Ness or his transfer to the bench in order to get the controll of the custom house as a lever for 1848.. There are secret organizations at work for this and the other great offices under the general Government in this city. The only, and in point of fact, just policy for the appointing power to pursue, is to bestow its best considerations on the young democracy, in other words the States Rights Democracy. By the bye it is rumoured here that Ogden Hoffman will be soon an ex. U. S. Attorney. If you have any influence with the President, let James T. Brady be his successor. He is respectable every way—talented capable—honest and is more than any other Lawyer in this City, the favorite of the Young Democracy. I could say much as to what he deserves from you but I refrain because I believe you are governed by

higher considerations than those of a personal nature. A better appointment could not be made for the office in this city.

I confess that I am politically interested and that too in the highest degree as to the collectorship—Surveyorship—Naval office, U. S. District attorney, Marshall and some others of lesser note in this city because I know their important bearing upon the contest of 1848. The one of 1844 is only the beginning of what 1848 must finish.

I can always give you correct information of our politicians here and you may depend upon it that I shall never suffer my private friendships here to induce me to attempt to mislead you. Very improper appointments are often made for want of that knowledge which should be previously obtained. In Jefferson's time, "is he honest—is he capable?" might have been sufficient, but nowadays—will he bring strength to the administration and its policy, is equally a necessary question.

And now my dear Sir you will permit me to express my Views in relation to yourself. You will I hope remain in Washington the ensueing four years, if not as Secretary of State, at least as Senator from your own State. In my opinion Mr. Polk should call you to the office you now hold, and you should accept it. Throwing even proper personal considerations as regards your future life out of the question, the true constitutional policy of this government requires your presence in Washington for such a policy is absolutely necessary to the Stability of the Government itself. We want Statesmen—constitutional Democrats at Washington and not truckling politicians.

I return you thanks for the Rhode Island Report. I should be much pleased to know your views with regard to the course the liberal democracy should pursue in this city. When, and under what form we should rally ourselves I am at a loss to determine. Will you drop me a few lines upon the future Course and policy of the friends of Constitutional principles?

Yours with the highest regard

F. Byrdsall

From Duff Green. C. C.

Washington—[Texas] 8th Decb. 1844

My dear Sir I have now been here several days and have conversed with many of the most influential members of Congress. I find that upon the simple question of Annexation there is little or no difference of opinion. On the details there are many opposed to the late treaty—they insist that the payment of the debt was not properly or sufficiently provided for,—that the boundary was not secured as it should have been, that their land titles were not sufficiently protected and that proper provision for Education was not made, they say that having conquered the country they surrender every thing and gain nothing but an equivocal protection. These points they believe can be provided for and they believe that on the part of Texas there will be no unreasonable demand. Genl Houston has had other views. If he were left to himself he would put on foot an offensive war. All his arguments go to show that his mind is occupied with the Conquest of Mexico and the establishment of a new Republic. He goes freely into the comparison of the two propositions, Annexation and Conquest. All his remarks are appeals to the passions and interests which he desires to enlist in the Conquest of Mexico, and when replied to, or when he finds that he has made the desired impression he says that nothing shall tempt him from his retirement. He is enthusiastic, poetical in the description of his domestic happiness and says that notwithstanding all that has been said he is for Annexation. It is easy to read all this—and I can see where it will end if the Congress of the United States delay the question beyond the *next* session. To press the question now and to fail would do injury. If the press and our public men discuss the question properly and the Government keeps the question open, no injury will, in my opinion result from the delay until the *next* session of Congress, because they are prepared here to await the action of public opinion upon the *new* Congress.

In the mean time as the only serious impediment to annexation is to be found in the ulterior Aspirations of Genl Houston, I deem it fortunate that Major Donaldson came when he

did. Armed as he was by letters from Gen[l] Jackson, knowing Houston and his early history, he has used arguments and urged considerations which no one else could have done with the same effect and neutralised if he has not eradicated the purpose of Mexican Conquest. Gen[l] Houston will leave here in a few days,[1] and has declared himself in favor of annexation, saying that Texas can do nothing, but await the action of the United States.

I therefore consider the question as safe so far as Texas is concerned. She will do nothing for the next year at least that will prevent Annexation.

In the mean time I am by no means sure that it will be for the interest of the United States or of Texas that the question should be closed *now*. The effort of the opposition will be to organise the north against the south. Abolition—the tariff, and native Republicanism, against South Carolina. If the new administration keeps the Texas question as one of the measures for the new organisation of parties, it will give the administration strength, and the success of the measure will be an administration triumph which will go far to establish its power. Of this you can judge better than I. I make the suggestion, subject to your better judgment.

The people of Texas will never consent to annexation on M[r] Benton's terms, and his reelection will go far to defeat the measure, unless they can be induced to believe that the next Congress will favor annexation on the terms I have indicated.

I repeat that I do not wish my name sent before the Senate, until I reach home, which will be in all the month of January.

Yours truly

DUFF GREEN

P. S. Gen[l] Houston has taken occasion to treat me with great attention, has invited me to his house and expressed a great personal respect and a wish to be on friendly terms.

[1] He ceased to be President of Texas on December 9.

From Beverley Tucker.[1] C. C.

Williamsburg Dec. 12, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR I beg you to accept my acknowledgements for your polite notice of my letter. It was a courtesy I had no right to expect, and which I therefore appreciate the more highly.

I am surprised to learn that there is any doubt of the authenticity of the information given to me by Mr White.[2] In regard to that I cannot be mistaken. The language of the Treaty of Cession by France to the U. S. strongly intimates the existence of some document defining the limits of the Louisiana as ceded by France to Spain, and by Spain back again to France. This, and other circumstances put Mr. W. on the enquiry. His large interest in Spanish Florida grants determined him to prosecute it, at the expense of spending a great part of his time in Europe. This was his chief business then. he learned that somewhere about 1760 a treaty of a secret character had been concluded between France and Spain, then governed by the two branches of the house of Bourbon, and that into that treaty an article defining the bounds of Louisiana was introduced. He applied to the Minister of foreign affairs for a copy which was refused. He

[1] Judge Beverley Tucker (1784-1857), author of the *Partisan Leader*, was professor of law in the College of William and Mary till his death, and an influential writer of political and other essays.

[2] The reference is to a passage in a preceding letter of Judge Tucker dated November 13, 1844. In that letter, after speaking of the arguments which he and other inhabitants of Missouri in 1819 and 1820 used with respect to the extent of the Louisiana Purchase, and of the favor with which he found his opinions regarded by the friends of Mr. Clay, he said "But it may not be enough that Mr. Clay and others of his school had said that Texas is part of Louisiana. Is there any other proof? There is, ample and precise proof in the French bureau of foreign affairs. About 1762, just before the cession of Louisiana by France to Spain the Rio del Norte was established as the boundary by treaty. The subsequent cession made that treaty of no consequence, and it was forgotten. But meantime a copy had been furnished to the vice-regal government of Mexico where Branch Archer told me, in 1833, it had been seen by many persons of his acquaintance during the connexion between Texas and Mexico. But Jos. M. White, about the same time, assured me that a *copy* of *the article* had been *furnished him* by the *French Minister* of foreign affairs.

"Now when France ceded to the U.S. 'by the same boundaries by which Spain had ceded to her' (These are the words) Spain having ceded to France 'by the same boundaries by which France had at first ceded to Spain,' France came under an obligation to furnish any evidence in her power to show what those boundaries were. She has it. It ought to have been demanded then. The very words show the existence of some known boundary, and France if properly called upon, is bound to produce and will produce the treaty of boundary."

then went to Talleyrand, then in London, to invoke his influence with the Minister, and procured from him a letter expressing the opinion that the article in question, tho' in a treaty otherwise secret, might be divulged without impropriety. Thereupon a copy was furnished, from which it appeared that the Rio Bravo and the Mississippi, including the Island of New Orleans, were the agreed boundaries. Such was his account to me

A week afterwards I repeated this conversation to Branch Archer, who said he had often heard that there was such an article among the archives of Mexico, whither it had been immediately sent, for the information of the vice-regal government. The cession taking place immediately after the document was no longer of any consequence, and was not made notorious by any action upon it.

Mr. W. died at St Louis on a visit to a brother whose habits were not such as to cause any suspicion that his papers should have fallen into confusion. Millions of ours depended on that paper, and they whose interests were to be effected by it, may have been quite ready to secure its suppression, and Mr. W's silence by a liberal compromise of *his* claims. The Government of the U. S. was interested to suppress it. Texas was gone from us, and was independent. Much land east of the Mississippi had been sold by the U. S. covered by Spanish grants made between 1803 and 1819. These are the lands White was claiming. Can we wonder if means were taken to silence him?

In this view of the matter the U. S. did not give up Texas gratuitously, for we got all the country east of the Mississippi that *we* call Louisiana. *We* therefore might be satisfied with the bargain. But it is of no consequence to the claim of Texas to be admitted into the union, in fulfilment of our engagement in that respect, whether we got anything for the country or no. We had no authority to barter away the rights of the Texans, as they themselves immediately protested in an article, an extract from which I find in the 12. No. of the Southern Review p. 486. which I have just received. That article expresses what was the universal sentiment of the far West at the time, and on that sentiment most of those who migrated to Texas acted in taking that important

step. I remember being present at a meeting of the most intelligent gentlemen of St. Louis one night in the Theatre, where the matter was discussed, and the Treaty condemned by an unanimous vote, on that ground. My memory deceives me if Col. Benton was not present.

In the Treaty of Cession there is a stipulation that France shall furnish all evidences of title and boundaries in her possession. This article inserted in one of the secret treaties of the heads of the Catholic party in Europe may have been overlooked by the new men into whose hands the government had come. Can it do any harm to instruct Mr. King to enquire if there be any such article and to demand it if there is? The disclosure might occasion some loss to the Government in the adjustment of Florida titles; but what are a few dollars in comparison with a great political measure, and the covenanted rights of the People of Texas?

I have just seen your letter to Mr. Shannon, and an abstract of his correspondence with Rejon. The aspect which this gives to the Texas question makes it of infinite importance to bring in aid of the pretensions of our government every argument and every fact which can fortify your position. I think, if you will look at the Treaty of cession, you will see in it such language as will hardly leave a doubt in your mind that before the first Cession by France to Spain the boundary of Louisiana had been definitively settled and was distinctly understood between those two powers.

From Memucan Hunt. C. C.

Galveston 19th Decr. 1844.

My Dear Sir, I have the very great gratification to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23rd ultimo. All your opinions and suggestions are more highly appreciated and esteemed by me than those from any other statesman in the U. S. So far as my interchanges on the great question of annexation occur in relation to our policy on the subject here, your views will be particularly recommended.

If we are annexed by a joint resolution or an act of your Congress ought there not to be a provision for submitting

such joint resolution or act to a vote of the people of Texas? Has our congress the right (it certainly has not authority under the constitution) to part with the sovereignty of the Texian Nation? There is no doubt of a ratification of a joint resolution or act of your congress, annexing us, by the people of Texas. The majority would be 4, 5, 6, or 7 to one unless something unlooked for, tending to alienate the people transpires, and it would forever silence those who are opposed to annexation, and who, in some instances, for the want of proper information on the subject, now declare it as their belief that a majority of the citizens of Texas are opposed to the measure. . . .

I have the honor to be your devoted friend

MEMUCAN HUNT

From A. J. Donelson. C. C.

Private - New Orleans, Decr. 26. 1844

MY D^R SIR, I have learned since my arrival here, that a package with your frank upon it, has passed me in a new Steamer, the McKim, that is making an experimental trip to Galvezton, I of course knew nothing when I left Galvezton. I had taken care to wait for the regular steamer, and of course felt no apprehension of there being a despatch behind me, when I left.

Now, however, I do not feel at liberty to wait here for a despatch, but shall proceed on in the packet of the 28: to Galvezton, where I shall overtake the communication alluded to, and go on immediately to the seat of Government.

If you have any thing of much importance, growing out of the question of Annexation, it had better be sent to the collector with a request to him to send a special messenger with it to me, particularly if an answer is desirable before the adjournment of Congress. Taking the fate of a letter in the mail from here to the seat of Government of Texas, a despatch from you might be two or three weeks on the way.

I discover from the papers that M^r. Benton intends to urge his plan of annexation. Anxious if possible to bring him to a point on which he may exert less force against the measure

I have written to him a private letter telling him that his course is injuring his friends and his country, and that I hoped he would be willing to modify his position, so far as to leave out of view for the present, the question of slavery, and the number of states, and take the boundary as described in my private letter to you, by Mr. Martin. If taken as a Territory with a general clause like that in the Treaty of 1803, incorporating Louisiana, and securing to the citizens equal immunities and rights with other citizens of the Union; and with the provisions suggested as coming from President Houston; I would insist on nothing more.

Let us get annexation on any terms we can, taking care not to have any thing in form or substance that would render doubtful its ratification by Texas. The battle about slavery, boundary east of the Nuesos [Nueces], and the number of states, will come up on the Constitution to be hereafter formed by the people of Texas, when there will be no danger of loss of the Territory from British intrigue, or other causes.

If you are not able to carry annexation by the vote of the present Congress I shall despair of the cause, not seeing a certainty of much increase of strength in the next Congress unless it can be secured by a judicious arrangement of the Cabinet. This should be a paramount object with Mr. Polk who must of course feel himself instructed to omit nothing that can advance the cause of immediate annexation.

Referring to the recent elections in the United States I have said to Texas that the measure was destined to a speedy consumation, and she has said in reply that she would throw no impediment in the way. This gives us the benefit of a trial in Polks administration, and is so understood by Texas, but I have endeavored to give the phraseology such a turn as to convey the idea also that I relied on the present Congress. It seemed to me that I ought to risk something to secure the measure to Mr. Tylers administration.

I have heard nothing from Mr. Polk and have had but one letter from Genl Jackson, who insists upon some action by the Congress of Texas at its present session. Before its close I hope to hear from you. On existing circumstances I should fear to ask Texas for a formal renewal of her wish to come into the Union, unless our Government were prepared to

take some more energetic measure to give effect to that wish than any yet attempted. The extension of the laws over the Territory without the advice of Congress, or trusting to events to secure their sanction afterwards would be hazardous.

As I feel obliged to return without attending to my private business, in consequence of the information that a despatch from you to me has gone on to Galvezton; and have requested my family to meet me here as soon as they can, I hope you will, as soon as you think the public business will allow of my absence from Texas a few weeks, give me permission to this effect.

The Congress of Texas will adjourn about the 1st of February—then I would judge there would be nothing urgent, unless you wish me to obtain some more, or new manifestation of the feeling of the Government here on the question of Annexation.

I had a great desire to see Genl Jackson this winter, and talk over the old seminole matter and remove if possible the misconception which led to the interruption of the friendly relations once existing between yourself and him. His last letter was written with his usual firmness, and leads me to hope and trust that he may yet live a few years more. I therefore feel the less doubt of my being able to see him again, and renewing a conversation with him on this subject, the purport of which I have never communicated to you, because I thought further reflection on his part would induce him to place it on a footing equally satisfactory to yourself and him. This I wish to see and have so written to Govr Branch, whose letter to me will be answered more fully in a few weeks.

I am truly and sincerely Yr obt svt

A J Donelson

From Wm. R. King. C. C.

Private Paris Decr. 28th 1844.

My Dear Sir I was much gratified by the receipt of your most friendly letter, and I congratulate you most sincerely on the success of the Democracy. I trust and hope that Mr. Polks

election may prove a blessing to our Country, This however, as you justly remark, must entirely depend on the wisdom and policy of his administration. Should he draw around him able men, and carry out in good faith the principles for which we have contended, all will be well, and the Democratic Party will be fixed in power not to be shaken. There should be no wavering on the subject of the annexation of Texas. The growling of the British Lion should only stimulate to immediate action. To falter in our course from apprehension of her hostility, would disgrace us in the eyes of all Europe. The act accomplished, England will complain, perhaps threaten, and her news papers will be lavish in their abuse; but that will be all; for with all her power, she can but feel, that a war with us would be more prejudicial to her interest, than with any other nation. She will not risk the consequences. I am aware that she is exerting herself to induce France to make common cause with her on the subject of Texas, and that Mr. Guizot is much inclined to do so; but it will not succeed. It would shock the French nation, which detests all alliances with England; and the King is too wise, and too prudent to place himself in a position which would go far towards destroying his dynasty. It is however very desirable that we should have the means to enable us to command the service of a portion of the French Press, to enlighten the public mind; and thus to counteract the misrepresentations which appear daily, in those Journals, which are notoriously in the pay of England. I hope the suggestion I had the honor to make on this subject will meet with the approbation of the President. Mr. Walsh our Consul is an able, and efficient officer, and I trust Col. Polk will not be induced to disturb him in his position. Permit me also to ask, as a personal favor to myself, as well as an act of Justice to a long tried, and faithful public servant, that our Consul at Havre my old Friend Beaseley, may not be displaced, to gratify any one; for I know him to be one of the best of men and a capital officer. Your letter to Govr. Shannon reached me nearly two weeks after those addressed to Messrs. Irving and Wheaton had been received,—probably Sir James Graham[1] thought proper to give it a perusal. It is

[1] A jesting reference to the Home Secretary in the British government, whose statutory power to open letters in the mail had been much discussed this year.

written with your usual ability, and places the conduct of Mexico in the odious light in which it deserves to stand before the civilized world. A few days past I was presented to the King and Queen of Belgium, now on a visit to this Court. They took occasion to express themselves in the kindest terms of Mr. and Mrs. Clemson, and from all that I can learn they have succeeded in making a most favorable impression, as well on the Corps Diplomatic as on the King. The opening of the Chambers which took place on the 26 presented a briliant spectacle; and the old King read his speech admirably well. I enclose it to you. You will perceive nothing in it of any importance except that he dwells with rather too much emphasis on the friendship of England to chime in with the feelings of the French People. A majority of the Papers of Paris have attacked it with great severity, and even in the Chambers itself it was received in dead silence. The President's Message is looked for with much interest, particularly in England; as Lord Cowley[1] said to me a few days past. I laughingly replied, I was gratified to find we were of sufficient importance to excite an interest on this side of the Atlantic. Tender my best respects to Mrs. Calhoun.

Most faithfully your Obt Sert

WILLIAM R. KING.

From Francis W. Pickens. C. C.

Edgewood 28 Decr. 1844.

MY DEAR SIR I recd yours yesterday and was glad to hear you were all well, but regret that things look so gloomy to you. I hope yet matters may take a more favorable turn.

As to your fear about a split in this state I think there is no occasion for it at all. The state never has been as united as at present since I have been acquainted with public matters. The Mercury being in the hands of a few makes a greater shew of division than really exists. There were only 21 men in the legislature all told that were bitter and opposed to the present position of the State, and they made a great shew and claimed many more but I assure you that is the

[1] British ambassador in Paris.

amount of their strength. Take Beaufort and Colleton and you will find that combining senators and Rep. both and there is a majority of 6 ags[t] the course pursued by Mr. Rhett. In fact I am assured that in those Dists. in the recent Congressional election a majority of the votes were actually Blank. I merely mention this to shew you that there is in fact no division except such as arises in every country agst selfishness arrogance, and assumption, which must allways be the case. I think I can safely say that the state is fully informed as to her true situation and responsibilities and is determined to do what is right with unanimity at the proper time, if need be.

As to my 2[d]. set of resolutions on Abolition &c., the reasons why they were not passed was that immediately after my speech on them these 21 men called a caucus to defeat and smother them, and they selected Bankatt [?] from this Dist. (who was allways an uncertain man) and used him to introduce counter resolutions to produce distraction the last day and confusion, and it was on his motion they were taken from the House when the yeas and nays could operate and refered to a committee of the whole House and made with all the other previous resolutions the order of the day for 10 O'clock at night the last night of the session. I told him at the time the object of his resolutions (which were drawn by Colcock,) was to produce distraction and his Motion was to smother all in the confusion of the last moments. He would not deny it, and will be held to strict account from what I hear.

If it had not been for this the last night, and they could have been brought to a vote they were obliged to pass with the exception of the 21, and strange to say the night before I introduced them (on Sunday) these very gent. were the most violent for the most violent resolutions, and I took the Senate Monday immediately after reading the journal, without consulting a single person, and they then, after I passed them by a unanimous vote immediately turned moderate men.

As to a report &c. on the Gov. message, I thought of it, but the great difficulty was in going into details. The Legislature of So. Ca. would not have it. There are but a very few (and none from the Low country) who can understand or appreciate our relations to any general parties out of the State.

They are no more a part of the general Democratic party than if they were out of the Union: And the consequence would have been a great division on any report that would be made. Besides it was necessary to act immediately as the Gov. message with the Mercury were to have their run and produce all the unfavorable impressions that could be before a report could be made. And it was understood that M^c^Duffie was to be there the first day of the Session to urge an immediate call of a convention. He did not go and they were disappointed and I believe now have unkind feelings towards him because he did not fulfill what was supposed to be his obligations, as he signed originally the address of Mr Rhett to his constituants and they say agreed to stand by him in the State.

I shall write to Elmore immediately and put him right, but you must not mistake Col. Elmore. I think he is a devoted friend of yours and he told me that as your friend, and I told him then there was some mistake. These 21 gent. are now bitter towards him, made the unkindest insinuations about his prospects of receiving an office from Polk &c.

Elmore acted with me *most cordially* in everything at Columbia and did what he could to check and control others.

I hope sincerely every thing will yet work right. As far as I am concerned I am perfectly satisfied and am agst every thing calculated to produce the slightest division in the state. We must be united—it is due to ourselves, to our liberties, and to the country; and as God is the judge of my heart there is not an emotion in it at present seperate from the honor—the rights—and the glory of So. Carolina. . . .

Very truly

F. W. PICKENS.

From Duff Green. C. C.

Wash^n^. Texas. 29th. Dec 1844

MY DEAR SIR I enclose you the Tex. Nat. Register. You will see that the Editor is preparing the public mind here for a coalition between Benton and the whigs which will defeat Annexation this Winter, but keeping open the Door of hope for the next.

Elliot[1] is very active, offering Independence on a pledge against Annexation. He can do nothing. Nine tenths of the people are for Annexation, and the President[2] assures me that he is also. He cannot if he would, defeat it, if Congress pass resolutions, next winter, favorable to annexation. These people however will not consent to annexation with less than the limits they claim, and will reject it if it be clogged with either of Mr Benton's Conditions.

Yours truly

DUFF GREEN

From Alexander Jones.[3] C. C.

241 8th Avenue New York Jany 9th 1845.

DEAR SIR . . . To your immediate friends, in this city, more than to any other cause, except Annexation was owing the final abandonment of Van Buren and the nomination of Governor Polk.

We formed a Calhoun, or Congressional District Committee, composed of 52 persons, among whom were found representatives from every ward in the city. We circulated documents in favour of the District plan of appointing Delegates to the Baltimore Convention, and against the resolutions of the Syracuse convention, and also against Van Buren and the expediency of his nomination.

These documents were sent into every section of the State; aroused powerful and strong opposition, which alarmed the Albany regency with the old Hunkers. The brief existence of the Gazette, also, had its influence. His chances of receiving the nomination, became much weakened, till his Texas Letter completed the work so auspiciously commenced and prosecuted in this city. . . .

I have the Honor to Remain as Ever Yours Very Truly and Sincerely

ALEXR JONES.

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[1] Captain Charles Elliot, British chargé in Texas.

[2] Anson Jones, President of Texas since December 9, 1844.

[3] Alexander Jones (1802-1863) was a newspaper writer in New York City, and subsequently the agent of the Associated Press. He had lately been engaged in the establishment of a Calhoun paper in New York City.

From A. J. Donelson. C. C.

Private and Unofficial

Galvezton, Jany. 27, 1845

My Dr Sir, I met at Houston your very acceptable letter of the 9' ins^t, at which place I had arrived on the 24th by slow stages from Washington, for the purpose of escaping the miasma of the latter place. I was attacked on the 4th of Jany with the prevailing epidemic and am among the very few cases of recovery from it.

When I reached Washington on the 4th Jan^y, Genl Green's[1] Exequatur had been revoked, and the worst possible feeling existed between him and the President. The Sec^y of State, Mr Allen had prepared a statement of the case to be transmitted to his agent at Washington city. I immediately sought an interview with the President, and suggested to him the course which was adopted, of stating the circumstances to me, and of permitting the explanations to pass through me to you. My first object was to remove the impression that Genl Green was authorized to commit his Government in any manner; and then to relieve him of the charge that he had sought to corrupt and menace the President, for you will perceive the statement of Mr Allen makes this charge distinctly, and thus created a personal issue which under the circumstances could not have failed to injure the character of the Genl.

I considered the Genl, although out of his sphere, and not defensible as a Counsul, as not obnoxious to the severe imputation cast upon him. He was full of zeal in the cause of annexation, and mistaking the sense in which the members of Congress heard his project for the defence of the Western frontier and the invasion of Mexico, approached the President too familiarly, but without a doubt of his disposition, if not to concur in his views, at least to consider them in a spirit of kindness. Whereas in truth his movements were watched with suspicion from the beginning, and before he was aware of it, he was involved in the responsibility of measures, contemplating a serious change in the policy of the Republic, employing the Indians of the U. States and Texas in the inva-

[1] Duff Green, consul at Galveston. See Niles, LXVII, 336; Anson Jones's Republic of Texas, pp. 412–414.

sion of Mexico, and revolutionizing the country from the Rio Grande to the Pacific under the flag of Texas.

You will see that in my note to Mr Allen of the 6th instt, whilst I expressed my disapprobation of such projects, I treated the affair as not involving the United States, and reaching to no higher importance than what was due to private character and opinion. In this point of view it has been settled, and after a full disclaimer on the part of Genl Green of all intention to approach the President in the manner charged, the personal imputation on his character has been withdrawn to an extent that ought to be satisfactory to him.

It gives me pleasure to say to you that the best feeling continues to prevail with the Congress of Texas on the subject of Annexation. Resolutions of various mass meetings on the subject have been referred to the committee of Foreign relations in the Senate, and have been the subject of a report from Mr Kaufman, the chairman, which he informed me would be unanimously adopted, recommending annexation as the true measure of safety for the Republic. The President also in my last interview with him, told me, that he would do his duty, and hold himself in readiness to call Congress together to take whatever steps might be deemed best to submit the action of our Congress to the people of Texas for their confirmation and approval. Their Congress will probably adjourn tomorrow, having governed their legislature by the principle that, in view of annexation, the least that could be done, consistently with the administration and preservation of the Government, was the best.

The President called to see me repeatedly during my confinement, and after I became convalesent, stated to me, that he was assailed from some quarters as maintaining a position unfriendly to annexation, and that he was somewhat in doubt as to the course he ought to pursue to put himself right in the estimation of his own citizens. I suggested to him that I was satisfied with the course he had pursued in his intercourse with me; and that if he thought his position sufficiently well defined in the letter he had addressed to me on the 13th instt, that there would be no impropriety in complying with a call from Congress for that correspondence—a course frequently adopted in other Governments for similar purposes.

He seemed gratified at the suggestion, and there was a call accordingly made the next day, as I understood, for those papers. I had not considered that there might be something in my letter which would make its publication improper in the United States: if so, I shall exceedingly regret my imprudence, and must beg you to ascribe the weakness to the state of mind under which I was left by my sickness.

Determined to leave, during my absence, no influence inoperative in confirming the attachment of the people here to the measure of annexation, I left with a leading member of the House a letter of which the following is an extract, and which he will publish.

It gives me pleasure to say also in answer to your allusion to the active interest always manifested by Gen' Jackson in behalf of Texas, that I had a letter from him a short time since in which he still expresses the same interest. He still looks upon the reannexation of Texas to the United States as a measure of vital importance to the security and happiness of both Republics, and one that the people ought not to allow to be defeated. He considers that the inhabitants of Texas are entitled to the benefits guaranteed to Louisiana by the Treaty with France of 1803, and that reannexation is but a restoration of former rights, and a fulfilment of obligations which the Treaty of 1819 with Spain ought never to have disturbed.

But independent of, and above these considerations, he regards the will of Texas, made free and national by the valor and prowess of her own citizens, and declared in favor of annexation, as constituting an appeal to the United States which cannot be resisted. This position of Texas remedies the errors of the Treaty of 1819, reopens the door for the consummation of the pledges contained in the Treaty of 1803, and restores to the valley of the Mississippi its unity in surface, in population, in Government, in defence, and in future security against foreign influence.

With these views the Gen' is still sanguine of the success of the measure of reannexation, and awaits with confidence the fulfilment of the popular wish in the United States by those charged with the administration of the Government.

I shall write you again from New Orleans, where I hope to meet my wife, and will avail myself of the leave of absence the President has been kind enough to grant me.

There is one point of public interest, however, of which I will say a word in this letter before concluding, and that is in relation to the unsettled question growing out of the order of President Houston to the collector at the mouth of the Sabine. The Secretary of State has not answered my communication on the subject, but replied verbally that instructions had been

issued to the collector which he was sure would prevent any future difficulty—that subject being a delicate and difficult one, and requiring an examination of documents to which he had not now access, he hoped I would not press an answer immediately. I told him that all that was desired by me was the prevention of trouble, and an assertion of the rights of the U States, and if his instructions to the collector had the effect attributed to them, that the delay he desired was not material.

I am very respectfully y^r. obt svt

A J DONELSON

From Wm. R. King. C. C.

Paris January 29th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR I was much gratified by your very friendly letter of the 13 Decr. and I surely hope your anticipations may be reallised, and this Congress may not adjourn without passing M^r. McDuffy's resolutions for the annexation of Texas. I deeply regret the course pursued by Co^l. Benton, while I am at a loss to comprehend the motives which influence it. His position it seems to me is every way extraordinary; for while he professes to be desirous to promote the annexation of Texas, he cannot fail with his sagacity to see, that even should his Bill pass, it will in all human probability defeat the measure. All that England requires to perfect her plan of opperations; and to opperate successfully on Texas herself, is delay on our part to act deffinitively on the question. I am fully convinced of this from the change of . . . [torn out] produced on Ashbel Smith[1] . . . affairs for France and England; He was the warm and decided advocate of annexation; but after making a visit to England and having an interview with Lord Abberdeen, he avowed himself decidedly hostile to the measure. I entertain little doubt that he returned to Texas authorised to make proposals, or to use his influence to induce his Government to accept propositions which will be well calculated to produce their effect in Texas. Smith is a cautious man; yet in the

[1] Texan agent in Europe. See his communication of July 31, 1843, *supra*.

conversations I have held with him he has thrown out remarks which convinced me that he will in this matter be a willing instrument in the hands of England. On more than one occasion he spoke of the time and *circumstances* being propitious for Texas to obtain the acknowledgement of her independence by Mexico. To procure the payment of her debt by granting certain commercial facilities to England; while at the same time the arrangement could be rendered greatly beneficial to Texas by a stipulation for the admission of her Cotton into British Ports free of duty. He did not say that these suggestions came from Lord Abberdeen, yet from the whole tenor of his conversations, he left that impression on my mind. Smith is the bosom Friend of the President elect Jones, and it is said will be his Secretary of State. I have thought it was but proper that you should understand his feelings and probable course. Would to God our Congress could but understand the importance of prompt action to put an end to European intrigue, and the ultimate loss of that fine country, unless we resort to force to obtain it. The act done, we should hear no more of opposition on this side of the Atlantic. I shall use prudently the power you have given me to expend for certain object $500. It is probable that nothing like that sum will be required, particularly if the contribution you mentioned should be made by the southern States. You do not direct on whom I shall draw, either do so or transmit me a Bill for the amount. Tender my best respects to Mrs. Calhoun.

Truly and faithfully I am your Obt. Svt.

WILLIAM R. KING

From A. J. Donelson. C. C.

Private

New Orleans. Jan 30th 1845

Dr SIR I reached this place last night and deposited with the post master my letters to the Department relating to my public business. They will be a day in advance of this letter.

The British and French Ministers at Galvezton are very active in their exertions against annexation, but have been deterred by the great fatality among the inhabitants at the

seat of Government, from visiting that place. They report that no measure consummating annexation can get more than Twenty votes in our Senate; and that this information is from *high and responsible sources.* I hope they will be disappointed, even [if] the measure be limited to the mere extension to Texas of the provision contained in the 3d. article of the Treaty in regard to La. The main point is to get the country, leaving for the future as they will be presented by Texas in her Constitution, the difficulties, respecting slavery, the number of states &c &c

I endeavored to sound Elliott in regard to his views about California and the occupation of the country between the Nuesos [Nueces] and the Rio Grande. My object was to get a clue to the mortgage, said by Genl Green to be held by Great Britain on a large portion of that country to secure the debts of British subjects. If there be any reality in that Mortgage, as understood by Genl Green, Elliott knew how to keep it to himself.

My belief is that Elliott is sick of his position, and feels that interference with the annexation question was a false move for his Govt. He is saying boldly that the country is overrated; but affects great concern about the extension of slavery, insinuating that it will dissolve our Union, and, if Texas is annexed, bring upon her our troubles. He is a shrewd and cunning man, and of course is to be understood more by his actions than his words.

Not finding my wife here as I expected I shall proceed directly from this place to Nashville. I can go up and back again in about three weeks, and be ready to execute your instructions, should there be any for me on my return. In addition to a necessity for attention to my private business, I wish to see Genl Jackson whose life hangs on a thread. I desire to converse with him particularly on the subject of his personal relations to you, which were brought to my notice by Governor Branch, and which I hope can be placed on such a footing as to take from them all impeachment of the character or motives of either of you.

I am very respectfully yr. obt svt

A J Donelson

From James Hamilton. C. C.

New Orleans Feby 18th 1845.

My Dear Sir. I was greatly rejoiced on my arrival here to find from the Papers that your convalescence was so far established as to relieve your friends of all anxiety in relation to your speedy recovery.

In the meantime let me beg of you not to regard anything that has passed between us as the value of a tobacco stopper in regard to the Mission to England if it becomes half as desirable to you that you should occupy this Post as it is important perhaps to the public interest that you should do so. But I am probably making generous concessions at a very small price as I very much question even if you do not take the appointment whether Polk would authorize its being tendered to me. It is an old saying in the Kennel, that the greedy Dogs are always served first and I have no doubt some Mouth is ready to receive this *Dotation* (as the King of France says) more rapacious than my own and I am content. I leave the matter in your hands to be managed as you deem most conformable to my character and your own sense of delicacy. If you do not take the appointment yourself I shall be satisfied whether I obtain it or not, if you will only say to Polk what you have said to me, that you consider me the best qualified for the duties of this office than any other Man you know South of the Potomac and that no other individual but one on the South Side of this *fearful line* should occupy it at this crisis of anxiety and peril. I confess if I were to go it would be without the motive of a single personal gratification of pleasure novelty or ostentatious honor, but for the single purpose of accomplishing *a great object in the smallest possible time*,—and when that object is accomplished to come home.

If Texas is annexed I shall be relieved of every embarrassment I have in the world and if I go to England on my return I hope to go into Congress *immediately* and be felt again before I die in the cause of the South. I trust in God I may yet contribute to placing you where your Country can alone reap the full fruition of your vertues and Genius. With this view whether you elect to go abroad or stay at home, if your health permits do not withdraw from the public eye, for I

cannot but think in the next four Years a Crisis will arise which will demand you[r] services in the highest Post known to the Constitution to save both it and the Country from destruction. Everything but your health must be sacrificed to this consideration. As you will have vast power in controlling the movement of the Gov^t thro the treaty-making power you[r] present Post I think would be far more influential than any other you could occupy. I shall be delighted if Polk has the sensibility to what is due to your character and an apprehensiveness as to what is due to your ability and his own interests to invite you cordially into his Cabinet.

On my arrival here I met Bentons *project* for annexation which I think if it is made *definitive* as far as fact of annexation is concerned is far more likely to obtain the concurrence of the people of Texas than the joint Resolutions of the House. These Resolutions really treat Texas as a conquered Territory. They appropriate her revenues for Customs altho these are *solemnly pledged* long since to a certain class of her Creditors and remit the whole of them of all classes to the (*at present*) utter unavailing and unavailable resource of her public Lands. This is not only countenancing but profiting by a most disgraceful repudiation. I am satisfied that the most influential Men in Texas connected with the Gov^t would use the unceremonious arrogance and manifest bad faith of these Resolutions to defeat annexation forever. And let it be understood if Congress adjourns without consummating this measure I have *strong reasons* for believing that the British Gov^t will submit to the people of Texas propositions providing for a recognition of the Independance of Texas by Mexico and a Peace between the two Countries without requiring any concessions on the Slave Question or any discrimination in favor of her Commerce but simply on the condition of *Non Annexation* and that Texas shall reduce her Tariff to 10 per cent *ad valorem*. If I did not believe from the immense number of European Emigrants coming into the Country under the Empresarios of the Prince[1] St. Johns Fisher and Castro that in 5 years Texas would abolish Slavery by a popular Vote I would come out at once against annexation under a belief that

[1] Presumably the Prince of Solms-Braunfels.

a free port at Galveston would be a powerful Engine for free Trade in the U. S. but as it is I go for a Union between the two Countries.

Ever My Dear Sir Yours faithfully

J. HAMILTON.

P. S. It has occurred to me that Benton's Bill if it were modified and divided into two sections the first to affirm that Texas was *ipso facto* from the passing of the Act a Member of the Union and his conditions made matters of detail to be arranged afterwards by Commissioners appointed by the Governments it would be far preferable for both and be much more likely to obtain the assent of Texas than the Resolutions of the House. Could not a compromise so as to insure the passing of an Act of Union be passed this Session. . . .

Direct to me at the Oswichee at your earliest convenience. I shall drop Mr. Polk a Letter tomorrow on the State of things at Texas more in detail than this communication.

From Daniel E. Huger.[1] C. C.

Charlestown March 24th 1845.

MY DEAR SIR The Senate adjourned on Thursday the 20th and I reached this city yesterday the 23d.

Nothing occurred at Washington but what was in due course. The nominations of the President were confirmed generally. He refused to communicate to the Senate anything which had been done by Mr. Tyler or himself, under the resolutions for admitting Texas. The Zoll-Verrein treaty was postponed until the next session of Congs. Mr. Webster appeared to understand perfectly the object of this treaty and its policy. Other gentlemen of his Party appeared to regard it as simply an attempt to reduce the Tariff, which they said ought not to be done but with the concurrence of the House of Representatives.

[1] Judge Daniel E. Huger (1779–1854), one of the principal Union men of 1832, was for nearly fifty years identified with the public service of South Carolina. He served in Calhoun's place in the Senate from 1843 to 1845, and then resigned, shortly after the writing of this letter, in order to give an opportunity for Calhoun to return to the Senate. (See O'Neall's Bench and Bar of South Carolina, I. 180–184.)

I was informed by the Secretary of State that the wish of the Presid^t was to send a minister to England from the Southern States and if possible from South Carolina. I have no doubt your indication of one would be attended to. Hopes are yet entertained that *you* might yet be induced to go. I said your friends had pressed you on this subject but that you appeared inflexible.

M^r. President and myself had some conversation as to Proscriptions in S. C^a. The result was a declaration on his part, that no removals should take place here except *for cause.*

The death of Senator Bates[1] afforded me an opportunity of taking ground which I was happy enough to perceive, was regarded as indicative of S. Carolina feeling.

The course pursued by Genl McDuffie and myself on the Oregon question excited at first, unpleasant feelings, but before we parted, I think, even the gentlemen of our Party had ceased to indulge even disapprobation of our course.

M^r. Buch^n spoke to me of the course the Mercury had pursued with respect to him. He declared to me he had done nothing and even had not a wish, to have you supplanted in the State Department. He said you had been generously kind to him once for which he felt grateful. He did not appear entirely satisfied with his position—a post in the Senate he thought preferable. Should you ever concur in this opinion, I beg you will, without hesitation signify the same to me. We want you in the Senate. The Whigs there are much stronger than we are and I mistake much if the contest between the two parties does not in a very short time shew the necessity of some change, particularly in the Cabinet. If the Secretary of the Treasury does not turn out much more than is expected of him and far superior to his brother Ministers a change in the Cabinet must take place. M^r. Buch^n may fall on the Bench. No one has been nominated to fill M^r. Justice Baldwin's place. The President said to me he was determined to have a *first rate man* there and that this was the cause of his delay. He moreover said that in his opinion sufficient attention had not been given to this subject even by General Jackson himself.

[1] Isaac C. Bates, Senator from Massachusetts, died March 16.

We have a rumour in circulation that Mr. Woodbury is to go to England. I attach no consequence to it for the reason above given.

Should you at any time feel disposed to communicate to me your wishes or views. a letter addressed to me here will be attended to.

Yours &c.

DANIEL E. HUGER.

From Francis W. Pickens. C. C.

Charleston 17 April 1845.

MY DEAR SIR . . . Elmore shewed me Polk's letter offering him the Mission to England and his reply. He refuses it solely on account of his embarrassments and the time allowed him being too short to prepare for leaving. Polk urged an immediate departure at the urgent request of Everett. I see from Elmore's letter that he has expected it from the "correspondence of friends at Washington." I take it for granted that time will be allowed Elmore and that he will yet go. It will be an excellent appointment—the best that can be made considering the issues. I understand that there will be a change in the Cabinet and Buchanan will go on the bench &c. Walker is the ruling spirit. Ritchie will certainly go to Washington as "the organ," so Elmore informs me. It is said here that if Elmore does not accept that he has urged Gen. Hammond to go in his place. It is thought he will go. I think next to Elmore he will be the ablest man for us. . . .

In haste but truly

F. W. PICKENS.

From A. J. Donelson. C. C.

Private

Washington Texas April 24: 1845

MY Dr SIR, It gives me pleasure to inform you that upon the basis of the first and second section[s] of the Joint Resolution for the annexation of Texas, which you instructed me

to present to this Government, there is now a probability amounting to almost *certainty* that the measure will be consummated before the next session of our Congress.

Upon my arrival here there was excitement in the public mind, growing out of an impression that the President of this Republic would not accept the proposals, or refer the subject to either Congress or the people. And there was unfortunately some ground for such an apprehension in the delay of the President to issue his Proclamation, yet he never for a moment in any interview with me intimated a wish to interpose an obstacle to the judgement of the people.

You will be surprised, however, when I inform you that Gen[l] Houston brought all his influence to bear against our proposals, and in favor of resorting to the negotiation contemplated by the Senate amendment to the House bill. Upon the latter basis there is no doubt, aided by his influence, this Government expected to throw me back for new instructions; but my communication was prepared with a full knowledge of the temper of the Cabinet, and I presented it the morning after my arrival as containing the *ultimatum* of President Polk in which he had the concurrence also of President Tyler.

Great hesitation and indecision were manifested throughout the corps of officeholders, and it was not until Gen[l] Houston could be seen, and until there were returns from other points in the State, that the President announced the issue of his Proclamation to call Congress.

It is useless, however, to trouble you with the details of the various incidents which marked a settled purpose here to change the basis selected by my Government,—nor will it be interesting to you to know the particular steps taken by me to defeat such a purpose. It is proper for me, however, to say to you that in a long correspondence into which I have been drawn by Gen[l] Houston I have been obliged to refer to certain statements from him representing the willingness of Texas to retain her public domain and pay her own debts. In a letter directed to you from New Orleans I urged upon you to let go that feature of the Treaty, stating to you that Houston thought Texas would be better off *retaining* than *ceding* her public lands. At the time he made this declara-

tion our attention was confined to Mr McDuffies bill, and it is obvious that when you took out of that bill the provisions concerning the public debt and lands of Texas, there was nothing left but the general provision admitting Texas as a Territory, and securing to her citizens a community of rights and privileges as citizens of the United States. In rebutting the objections made by Genl Houston to the House bill—objections drawn out with care and intended to influence President Jones—I have maintained that he was committed substantially to that bill, and could not oppose it without a change of the position occupied by him in December last, when I communicated to you *confidentially* the extent to which the provisions of the Treaty might be modified without danger to the measure, so far as it depended upon the approbation of Texas. As that letter may be important to me I wish you to preserve it.

Without further reference to the progress of the measure since my last arrival at this place, I may say to you that President Jones in convoking Congress has removed the only possible obstacle to its consummation, which was the necessity of obtaining "*the consent of the existing Government*," to the proposals contained in the House bill. Congress will give this consent most cheerfully, and authorise a convention of the people at an early day, when a new constitution and a Government adapted to the changes made necessary by the admission into our Union, will follow in time for the next meeting of our Congress.

The people of Texas are holding public meetings throughout the Territory, and are expressing their approbation of the terms offered to them by the United States with a unanimity which no other debated question has ever received.

This great measure is therefore consummated unless the spirit of faction, appearing again in our Congress, may refuse to pass the law redeeming our pledge to Texas when she brings forward her Republican form of Government.

I congratulate you on the possession of an additional guarantee for our safety from internal as well as external foes—a guarantee which you have sacrificed much to obtain, and for which the country can never thank you and President Tyler too much.

With my thanks for your personal kindness on all occasions to me; and my great respect for your exalted public and private character,

I have the honor to be very sincerely and truly y^r obt svt

A J DONELSON

P. S. Consider the reference I have made to Genl Houston as private and confidential. I still have a hope that he will withdraw his opposition.

A. J. D.

From Robert G. Scott. C. C.

Richmond April 27th 1845

MY DEAR SIR I have postponed writing to you as I promised until I could speak with certainty of the result of the Virginia elections that result is now known and a glorious one it is. We shall have a majority on joint ballot ranging from 15 to 25 and it may go up to 30. I think this majority will be of the right stamp. But more than this—Hunter and Seddon are elected. The former by nearly 200 majority; and the latter by 262, In this heretofore strong Whig population never have I seen such a triumph. Old Hanover has come back to us by a majority of 32. Hunters own county Essex, returns to the Democratic family. Bailey is elected in the accompanying district by at least 120 majority. Atkinson, Dromgoole, Treadway, Hubbard, *Leake* (from the Albermarle District) Bedinger, Taylor, Hopkins or Grange, Chapman, Johnson, Brown and Taylor, are all elected, leaving the Loudon District alone to the Federalists, and that has elected a Texas Whig. Thus you will see My Dear Sir that our old State has been waked up, and that she may now be counted on to lead this House in the coming struggle. Could we have done more? Your best and strongest friends go to Washington. They will with your own State delegation present an array of talent, firmness, sound judgment, fidelity, to our principles and elevation of character above vastly above their adversaries. But a new enquiry at once arises. Hunters election removes him from the list of those from whom a selection of Senator will be

made. Our present Governor goes out next Winter and we have to elect another. Who are to fill these high stations? The West will expect to have one of these. For years our Governors have come from beyond the mountains. Archer our Senator lives in Amelia. The West will then probably claim the Senator and the East the Governor. But who are they to be. Our present Governor[1] will not do for the Senate. But he is young comparatively and talented. Many of the Western members will prefer him, but I have no idea he can be elected. Judge Pennypacker is the next choice with that branch of the party. But he can hardly be elected for reasons as strong if not stronger, than those applicable to our Governor. In looking about Dr Brockenbrough, who is quasi a resident of the West has occurred to some of us. But is he sufficiently separated from the old leaven? If not he would be worse than either for his controling influence over the new organ at Washington would be fatal. Yet I have strong reasons for believing that the Doctor is at heart with us. Do *you* know anything on this subject? If you do, fail not at once to let some friend here be informed of what you do know. If he will go with us, to place him in the Senate would be a measure of inestimable value. Your own observation will at once picture out the great advantages. I have taken measures to procure information on this head, but it will be some weeks before I can procure it in a reliable form. The selection of our Governor is hardly of less importance than the Senator. A sound, able, practical man at the head of the State, would give a direction at home to our movements, such as would rapidly give power, efficiency and cohesion to our party. We shall have less difficulty as to this selection than the other. For in the East we can present several names upon which our friends can rally. William O. Goode, Richard Kidder Meade &c would give us all we could desire. Already are our friends.quietly yet decidedly looking to these matters. The last evening brought me several letters. Dromgoole might have been in our way, but his intemperate habits place him I think out of the chance of further elevation. Such is a brief outline of our position as to men. But my Dear Sir, old Virginia is now sounder than for 20

[1] James McDowell.

years on the great principles which you hold dear. Texas and the Tariff have this spring done the work. Texas, because that is truly a question connecting itself with the South and the Slavery of the South. The tariff because Virginia has firmly resolved to abide not by the plundering bill of 1842, but resolutely *at all hazards* to demand its modification. In this, the tide water country of Virginia are nearly unanimous. And especially, that long populous and rich peninsula between the waters of the York and the Rappahannock extending from New Point Comfort to the foot of the blue Ridge, and embracing the counties of Matthews, Middlesex, Gloucester King and Queen, King William, Essex, Hanover, Carolina Spotsylvania, Orange, Madison, and Green, from which *not a single Whig* has been elected to our Legislature. Accomac too, sends us both Democrats and Warwick and Elizabeth City elects a Democrat, and turns out a Whig. Indeed looked upon in every aspect, I do from my very soul, most heartily congratulate you upon this victory, as the [presage] of what is to follow. Our people look *now* to your State to give us in due season the successor of the President. In regard to Mr. Ritchie, and his taking charge of the Government organ[1] at Washington, I cannot undertake at this moment to foreshadow what may become of it. But I have but slight fears as to the consequences. We here stand *now* in a position to restrain any offensive action. We are too strong to be trifled with, much less deceived, even was there a disposition to do either, which I by no means suspect. But the possession of strength and its wise use is the position of safety. The former we have, and the latter I have no doubt will be practiced. I am deceived in our men, if this be not proved. Already the supporters of the Enquirer in Virginia, are appealing to us, to keep up its vigor, and to take measures for preserving its future influence and efficiency. As to Mr. Polks dispensation of office, we took him for but little. Indeed in my judgment the less we get the better. None certainly ought to be sought or taken, by begging for it, as the medicant seeks his daily bread. I have little question the office of Secretary of State is already too hot for the present incumbent. What with our Texan negotiations, Mexican troubles, Brazilian

[1] The Washington Union.

squabbles and the growling of John Bull, I rather suspect the Pennsylvanian would be glad to be back in the Senate. Or has a longing eye to a quiet seat on the bench of the Supreme court. And then among the on dits of the day we hear Mr. Stevenson is to become premier, and Mason to retire, or go abroad. About all this I know but little, and care less. If Mr. Polk and his Cabinet do right, I will approve, if wrong I will not spare them the less, but on the contrary condemn them the more because I gave my aid to bring them into power. But I have wandered from the main purpose of this letter, which was to let you know how stood things in Virginia, that accomplished I design to stop. With my best and sincerest wishes for your health and happiness,

I am with high regard and respect yours truly

ROBERT G. SCOTT

From Duff Green. C. C.

Washington. 2nd May 1845

MY DEAR SIR I enclose you a copy of a letter to Mr Pickens.[1] It explains itself. I do not see how he can hesitate to adopt the course I recommend, and I hope that it will meet your approbation. By going to England, on a special mission, charged with these important negotiations you will, I verily believe be able to conclude a favorable treaty. You will find a powerful and influential party who believe that it is the interest of England that all her colonies should, as soon as they [are] capable of self government, become independent Governments with friendly commercial treaties with England, and these will be glad to surrender Oregon, as part of a commercial arrangement with this country

If you fail you will have discharged your duty, and identified your name with the honor and interest of the United States so that you can do more than any other man to guide future events. A new crisis has arisen since the coming in of the new administration, and your acceptance of the Office under these circumstances will give you new claims on the

[1] See note on p. 653, *supra*.

confidence of the Country, and be considered every where as an acknowledgment of your merits and superior qualifications.

If you refuse, it will be charged that you are soured and disappointed, and you will be held responsible for any failure in the negotiations which may occur.

Some of your friends say that if you make a treaty it will be assailed, because it is made by you. I admit that the history of the Texas negotiation would seem to justify such an opinion, but I think it will be otherwise because the new negotiation will be sustained by Mr Polk. Ritchie will be here and will be committed in advance. Benton's power to do you injury no longer exists and all parties will fear to assail a good treaty if it makes an end of the controversy, and if you fail, You will have the American feeling to fall back on, which will be stronger as the pretensions and objects of England will be exposed by you.

I hope You will place what I have done to the proper motives.

Believe me as ever your sincere friend

DUFF GREEN

From John S. Barbour. C. C.

Catalpa, May 21st 1845

MY DEAR SIR I was in Washington a few days past. I saw Mason, Marcy, Buchanan and Bancroft.[1] These people are the vilest of hypocrites if they are not your friends. I am old enough to distrust all politicians, for they are the pests of every community in which they are members. The loss of personal hopes and the consequent lapse of selfishness into patriotism make them your friends, as far as they can be friends of anybody, in spite of antient predelections. Several little anecdotes were told me to satisfy me of Bancrofts admiration of your ability in the despatches to the British Minister. And one of these occurring in Cabinet Council. Men like animals of every other Class have their instinct, and you cannot mistake the instinct that is "North of the Tweed." Victory said Bonaparte is never called to an account for her actions. And the "flesh pots of Egypt" are scented in the

[1] Attorney-general and secretaries of war, state, and navy, respectively.

distant gales. These people doubtless think that having exhausted both their powers and their hopes in wrangles for other uses than those of the Country; they may now fall back in commendation of you, as the offering which "Vice gives to Virtue". The agent I believe is according to the Masters in Ethicks, vicious or virtuous according to his intention, but the act good or ill according to its tendency. Be this as it may these people are professedly at least your friends very laudatory of you. And I may add that which was my chief purpose in picking up my pen to write you—the President (Colo Polk) is so likewise.

Mr. Polk is by nature a good man, plain in understanding,—raised into aspiration by the advent of peculiar combinations of powers, parties, and persons; and successful to the highest limit in the altitude of aspiration. He may naturally and I believe patriotickly wish first that he may be succeeded by the most worthy for his own gratification and secondly for the Countrys weal. I have the best reason to think that his present hopes and wishes lean to you. It was he who recounted to me Mr Bancrofts eulogy on reading (or hearing) your letter to the British Ambassador. I know that Ritchie is decidedly your friend. And I know he is a friend to be valued. The young Ritchies I know nothing of; but the old man is far more sincere and honest than We might expect from a hacknied politician.

The President asked me why it was that the South Carolina Statesmen declined the Mission to England? I replied that it was a matter of which I was wholly uninformed. I thought his views correct In this—1st That the Mission ought to go to a Slave State, 2d, particularly to South Carolina. I was alone with Mr. Polk for near two hours and I am greatly deceived if he is not sincerely your friend. He spoke of Wright as being powerless and in a tone of the feud of Dallas and Buchanan which left me with the belief that he regarded them both as feeble for ill or injury to others or profit to themselves. I may have been deceived in all that I heard. Yet I do not think so. When kindness is felt and is sincere in its tendency and object, it cannot always be repulsed with justice or policy. Unsolicited support for political trust, by those towards whom we have acted in opposition, and who are

without personal regard to us, is perhaps high commendation to the object of support, and moreover commendation to the patriotism which offers its aid under such circumstances. To repulse it is I think neither wise nor dutiful. The substance of my thoughts is this: Those people at Washington wish to be your friends—whether the motive be good or bad is it wise to discard their favour?

With great Respect and Sincere Regard
Yr friend J. S. BARBOUR

From W. A. Harris.[1] C. C.

Washington 11. July 1845.

MY DEAR SIR: I have been postponing for three months past, the purpose of writing to you; hoping each day, that I might have some striking fact to communicate, worthy of your special notice. I shall, in as few words as possible, endeavor to put you in possession of such facts and inferences, as I may think will be of some interest to you.

In the first place then, I have seen nothing in the course or conduct of Mr. Polk, public or private, that changes in the least my opinion of him, somewhat warmly expressed to you, before you left; but, on the contrary, much to confirm it. In a single word, he is not equal to the station; and, it will operate forever hereafter, as a caution to us, to compromise on no second or third rate man for the presidency. A second rate man might indeed do, if he were thoroughly honest and disinterested, free from prejudice and that little ambition which attaches itself to small minds in such a situation, of desiring to be thought above the reach of even Cabinet influence. Such persons most probably at once pass under some other influence less worthy to be trusted. These remarks find a practical application in the present head of our national affairs.

The policy of the President seems to be to forget his friends and buy up his enemies. Hence Benton, Blair, and the New York regency can command any thing. I say so, because they

[1] William A. Harris (1805–1864), M. C. from Virginia from 1841 to 1843, was editor of the Spectator, and subsequently of the Constitution, Calhoun newspapers, published at Washington.

have done it. The Van Buren-Wright men got every thing in New York that they wanted, till they came to the Custom House. In that case, Mr. Van Ness seemed to be in all respects so unexceptionable, so fitted for the office by every necessary and proper qualification, that every body said let him be retained. Mr. Polk seemed for a while to appreciate this feeling, and to be fully influenced by the common sentiment. But, the spoils-men were not to be put off so. They commenced agitating and moving upon the President with the most energetic pertinacity. Though their ward meetings failed them, still they continued to agitate. The President for a time seemed unmoved by their efforts and importunity, and less persevering men would have desisted; but they persisted in their purposes, till they ascertained the assailable point—they touched it—and the work was accomplished. They ascertained that the great object of Mr. Polk was to give the Union the public printing. They at once got the members elect from New York, through the commanding influence of a few distinguished names, to say, that unless Mr. Van Ness was removed, they could not vote for Ritchie and Heiss as public printers. That hint was enough. Mr Van Ness was an avowed Calhoun and free trade man, and had to share the fate of all others of that way of thinking.

They recently offered Mr. Blair[1] the mission to Spain. He growled his refusal, by telling them he "wanted none of their Missions." They then beseechingly asked him if his son Montgomery Blair of Missouri would not accept a chargéship, which was also refused; but, leave was given him to fill all the offices in Missouri, which he has availed himself of to the fullest extent.

The Benton-Blair-Van Buren party intend to make war upon the Administration and upon the free trade party—or in other words, upon Polk, yourself and friends. They will have a press, it is said, established here in a month from this time. It is also asserted, that [at] a recent meeting of Van Buren, Wright, and other dignitaries at Coddington's in New York, these arrangements, and God know what else, were decided upon. The story goes, that Mr. Cambreling alone subscribed ten thousand dollars to establish the press. They can certainly

[1] Francis P. Blair, of the Globe.

make it a formidable engine every way. But, can they get the public printing? They are certainly going for it. Preliminary to this open outbreak, John C. Rives,[1] who had just been elected president of the Democratic association, read a sort of inaugural address upon taking the chair, in which he exhibited to the fullest extent, his hostility to the Administration and to yourself. It was sent, with the Proceedings of the meeting, to the Union to be published, and was actually set up, but the proof reader called the attention of Mr. Ritchie to it, and he in consternation ran to the President, and it was actually the subject of a Cabinet meeting. They determined to suppress it; and thereby showed great shortsightedness and bad policy. Heiss showed me a copy of it in confidence, and its bitterness may be considered as a fair illustration of the general feeling of the Van Buren party. Rives invited the President and Cabinet, and the editors of the Democratic press here, to be present on the 4th of July, at the ceremony of laying the corner stone of "Jackson Hall." This is to be a very large building put up by Blair and Rives for a printing office, and to contain a Hall for the meetings of the Democratic associations and other democrats of the District. Well, the Cabinet and the editors were present, and, with many other things, Mr. Rives announced that he deposited a copy of that speech in the corner stone. I laughingly told them, that I thought we had all been made to play a very silly part, in coming to see Mr Rives lay the corner stone of opposition to the present or any future administration, that did not exactly please his clique. Chagrin was upon the face of the whole party, and they could not conceal it.

The signs of dissatisfaction with the administration, are showing themselves on all sides. It was but the other day, that they were about to hold a public meeting in Cincinnati to express their dissatisfaction with the administration, and it was only by the efforts of Col. Medill, 2d assistant Postmaster General, that it was suppressed. He told me himself, that he had made promises on behalf of the administration, which, if they did not fulfill, would only make the dissatisfaction the greater, and the outbreak when it did come, the stronger. The democratic papers in Mississippi are fiercely assailing Mr.

[1] Blair's partner.

Walker.[1] They make his improperly withholding the Governor's Commission appointing Thompson[2] a senator, the ground of the attack upon him; but, it is palpable that they have lost confidence in him. They believed him to be concerned with Dr. Gwin and Col. McLemore in extensive Indian speculations of some sort, now in progress, and over which the Treasury Department may perhaps exercise some peculiar control. They fear that he is unsound upon the Tariff and the Independent Treasury; and, I am sorry to say, not without reason. I understand that he and Ritchie are cooking up some sort of a league of State Banks, which is to be offered instead of the Sub Treasury. And the bill of Genl McKay,[3] is to be offered as a compromise upon the tariff. I have taken, on the part of the friends of free trade, the strongest grounds against all compromises upon the subject of the Tariff; consenting to nothing but rigid and exact justice in the premises. And, at the same time going for the Subtreasury and a total separation of the government from the Banks, as declared at the Baltimore Convention, before we entered upon the Canvass. I know that the people, and especially the great west, are entirely and fully with us on these questions. At the same time, I have treated the subject as if I did not for a moment doubt the intention of Mr. Polk and his Cabinet to go for these measures. For, whatever may be my private opinion upon the subject, I consider it the best policy to exhibit the greatest show of confidence now—to hold them to the conditions of the Baltimore resolutions and the natural expectations of the party—so that, if they should falter or fail in the hour of trial, we may have the fullest justification to denounce the treachery and the injury. Hunter, Seddon, and Bedinger, who have just been here, fully concur in the propriety of this course.

In regard to the prospects of the Constitution press, it is hard to tell whether we shall be able to keep it going till the meeting of Congress or not. I have completely exhausted my pecuniary means to keep it up, and it has placed me in a very unpleasant situation. Unless our friends come to our

[1] Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury.
[2] Jacob Thompson.
[3] Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means.

aid, in the only way which can be really useful—for money is the sinew of the press as well as of war—we must in the end be crushed by the efforts of the administration, who are using all the patronage and all the influence which they can command, to give the Union, not only the public printing, but the control of everything. This is the object and the interest, both of Mr. Polk and Mr. Ritchie. For let me say emphatically, that notwithstanding the disclaimers of Mr. Ritchie, in his own peculiar way, *Mr. Polk will be a candidate for re-election, if by any means he can procure a renomination.* I have seen enough and heard enough to convince me of that. No one doubts it here. A communication in the Richmond Enquirer (from Selden the Treasurer I think—Ritchie's sense keeper, as the Indians have it) will convince anyone who may doubt. If, then, our free trade friends will stand by and see us thrust aside by Mr. Polk, and the whole patronage of the legislative departments given to a press in which his own family is interested, why so be it. We must submit with the best grace we can—though we should be satisfied with the printing of the Senate.

You probably do not know the partners in the Union. Ritchie owns half, Heiss a fourth, J. Knox Walker the President's nephew and private secretary a fourth, and Senator Cameron of Pennsylvania did hold the other fourth, but for some reason or other they made him sell out, and it now stands in the name of L. S. Coryell of Pennsylvania, who has from the first been a very active agent in the business; though he assures me that he really has no pecuniary interest in it.

An idea prevails here, and I think it took its rise in the latitude of the Union office, that from your interview with Mr. Ritchie when passing through Richmond on your way home, that you had such assurances of his friendly dispositions towards you, that you are really desirous that he should succeed in his purposes here. I do not even ask to know of you whether he made you any of his diplomatic promises; but, this I know, that the whole course of his policy now, is against your interests and the interests and hopes of your friends. And furthermore, in a letter from him to his son-in-law Thomas Green, written soon after you had passed through Richmond, and which was shown to me for a different object, he there

took credit to himself, for having in no way committed himself to you; and no little credit for his firmness in suppressing some manifestations of enthusiasm in your favor. His whole mind and energies are bent on uniting the interests of New York with the interests of the West. He goes for Davis of Indiana as Speaker of the House. The south and southwest, they seem to think, as Hunter remarked the other day, "already bagged," and of course no further effort is necessary in that respect.

Thus I have, at greater length than I intended, jotted down just as they have occurred to me, various facts and circumstances as they appear here. You will draw your own conclusions from them. If it would not be taxing you too much, I should be most happy to hear from you. You might afford me important suggestions for my government, in this, I must believe, very important crisis in our affairs. I need scarcely say, that whatever you may communicate, will be with me, under the seal of inviolable confidence.

Most sincerely and truly, Y^r ob. Sevt.

W. A. HARRIS.

Bancroft is the soundest and best man in the Cabinet. The general impression is that the cabinet must dissolve before long. M^r. Buchanan told me himself, not long since, that he was sorry that he ever left the Senate. They have Cabinet meetings nearly every day.

W. A. H.

From J. M. Caminero.[1] C. C.

Port Plate July 16th 1845

SIR On addressing you these few lines not only I feel very happy by paying you this attention, as a proof of my gratitude for all your kindness, but still I think to be an agreable complyence of duty on my part to inform you of the return of the U. S. Commissioner John Hogan Esqre. after having visited our towns, places and principal counties, and examined our organisation, our political and moral Situation, the means

[1] Dr. J. M. Caminero was diplomatic agent of the new (white) Dominican Republic at Washington. (See Curtis's Life of James Buchanan, I, 576.)

we actually possess, those to be soon expected by encrease of commerce and agriculture, and our capacity of maintening our Independence.

It will be of no use for me to enter into any particulars about the prolixes investigations entered to by said Commissioner in fulfilment of his mission; his report and the documents he carryes shall speak more than what I could say to you; but allow me, Sir, to submit to your consideration some ideas, which, in my opinion, may strongly contribute to examine the question of recognition of the Dominican Republic in a proper light, and to prompt the U. S. cabinet to give their decision with the Shortness of time that such a question requires, leaving the making of a Treaty for an Spead period of time, say for the month of October.

I say First: That the two villages on the line of boundaries, *Caobas* and *Hincha*, which were occupied by the haytians troops, at the time of the landing of the U. S. Commissioner in the City of S^to^ Domingo, have been taken in the month of June last by the Dominicans after fighting, and compelling the haytians forces to enter their territory, and by these victories the Dominican Republic is in full possession of her bounderies, and has augumented her forces on the line to secure the same.

Second: That the general feelings and sympatics of the whole Dominican people are in favour of the Government and Citizens of the U. S. in preference to all foreing European Powers, for whom they entertain the greatest repugnancy, and dislike to be united, being monarchial governments.

Third: That with respect to Spain, the ancient holder of Hispaniola, by the civil dissensions, by the sectional partis, by the exhausted political and financial State under which that Nation has been and is still labouring, by her silence about the Dominican Republic since the declaration of her independance on the night of 27th february 1844. and by the recognition lately made by Spain of the Republic of Venezuela after being aware of the Dominican revolution, it is to be expected that She will be disposed to acknowledge the independance of Hispaniola obtained by the Dominicans, whose courageous determination has put end to haytian usurpations, from which event a real benefit shall arise in

favour of the tranquillity of the Islands of Porto Rico and Cuba, having nothing to fear from the Dominican Government, and injoying such good results without any expences on the part of Spain.

Fourth: That in said Two Islands it exist great dispositions and desire to become Independants, particularly in Porto Rico, where the best informed inhabitants are exalted and cry up against the system of Spain and the heavy taxes they are obliged to pay for the payment of European officers and army; and by the U. S. acknowledging the independance of the Dominican Republic They will haste their political change, being by that assured That they will obtain the Same without any hesitation, and so all the Colonies will consider the U. S. as the only Nation to protect them.

I hope these ideas will meet your approbation and please to communicate them to the Hon. Ex President John Tyler as you were the authors of Mr. Hogan's mission to this country prepossessed of Those feelings that humanity and Cristendom commands in favour of opressed people. And although neither of you are now to decide on the question I avail myself to believe That you both will contribute to bring the question of the Dominican Republic to a favourable conclusion, for which the Dominicans shall be gratefully indebted to the most high gratitude.

Expecting the honour of hearing soon from you

I remain Sir with respect and true affection your most obt. Servt.

Dor. J. M. Caminero.

From James H. Hammond.[1] C. C.

Silver Bluff 18 Aug 1845

My Dear Sir. It always affords me so much satisfaction to concur with you in opinion and it is so unpleasant to differ, that in deference to your judgment I chalked out an article for the Mercury after receiving your last letter and began to take quite an interest in it. But when I came to fill it up I became so convinced that it would do far more harm than

[1] See Calhoun's letters of August 2 and 30, 1845, in Part I, *supra*.

good that I desisted. If I could have written merely a complimentary notice of Dr Bascom['s] book it might have passed, and if there had been little or no point in it, would have been thought of no more. But everything from So Ca in relation to the Slave question attracts attention and must have some weight. To compliment Dr Bascom for this book, without noticing its unsound and dangerous doctrines in *strong terms* would have had a bad effect in more ways than one, and to notice it in such a manner would have been I think imprudent just now. Judging by the difficulty I had in reading his confused and long spun essay, which I did solely with a view to meet your wishes, I am pretty certain you have only looked at it here and there and cannot have seen many passages in it. Besides saying that the Bible does not sustain Slavery and that it is an evil, he declares that it is "on all hands admitted to be an evil", that if any way of getting clear of it was pointed out and shown to be safe it "would find few opponents here", that to say the Southern methodists are in favour of Slavery is a "libel and an outrage", that they have been doing and will continue to do all they can to get rid of it &c &c. Now if his book is noticed *in South Ca*: such sentiments as these must be peremptorily denied and strongly rebuked, or the whole body of sound methodists who are neither abolitionists nor *colonizationists*, will have a damper thrown over them, and may be inclined to yield to the powerful influences at work to make Bascom a Bishop, to retain the very gross and offensive Chapter on Slavery in the Discipline book, to locate the Book concern as well as Missionary Treasury in Kentucky and in Short to give these *pseudo* friends of the Slaveholders an overwhelming domination over So Methodism, which would soon become as dangerous to us as that of the North. I do not mean to say that so insignificant an article as I might write would materially aid in bringing about these results, but it would tend in that way and coming from So Ca might have far more influence than it might otherwise have. At this moment such an article *in the Mercury* would probably be caught up in Kentucky. There is growing up a powerful abolition excitement there. Cassius Clay—differing no way in principle from Dr Bascom and Henry Clay and doubtless looking to them for support in an emergency and likely to

receive it, is making the most powerful appeal in his new paper "The True American" to the nonslaveholders of Kentucky, and preaching insurrection to both black and white. He could not be tolerated a moment, if Kentucky was sound or his friends less powerful. The people however are waking up. Abolition entered largely into the canvass between Davis and Marshall and will become a leading question in elections very soon. I hope and believe in a short time the Clays Bascoms and all of that stamp will be put down completely and Kentucky redeemed. It is not then a time for S° C^a to give Bascom a wing. I think also that the true Southern Methodists are displeased with his Review. They praised it in advance, but have received it very coldly. There are reasons for this besides his unsound views of Slavery. He has placed Dr Capers rather in the light of an officious meddler in his early attempts in the General Conference to reunite the North and South, and has without necessity dwelt upon the fact that Bishop Andrew was elected by the North—"imposed upon the South against her wishes". These flings show no good feeling and the D^r evidently aims to absorb for himself all the glory of the action of the South. Our Methodists see what this leads to and have their eyes on the consequences I have mentioned above. To elevate Dr Bascom would be at their expense. I think therefore every thing considered that a mere complimentary review of his work, slurring over his dangerous opinions would in every point of view be impolitic, as well as a dereliction of our own duty considering the position South Ca occupies.

On the other hand to rebuke him severely is not perhaps called for now and would be equally impolitic. The Methodist controversy has by no means ended. The seperation of the Church is inevitable, but the great question remains whether it will be a Division or a Secession, and that involves a very large amount of property. The share of the Southern Conference in the various Methodist funds is not short of $300.000. The North will undoubtedly endeavour to cheat them out of it. Their Editors and writers have already taken the ground that the South has *Seceded.* I have little doubt that a great Lawsuit will be carried on. Pending that and the whole controversy, it would be better to let the Southern Church get

on with what harmony it can and sow no seeds of dissension. I do not doubt, the Methodists would prefer to be allowed to manage the whole matter for themselves. Their S°. papers have carefully abstained from responding to or noticing any expressions of opinion by the politicians. You saw how ready and anxious the North was to catch them in this trap by charging a correspondence between you and Dr Capers.

On the whole I trust that you will believe that if I have not good reasons for declining to comply with your request, I have not done it without looking all around the matter with what circumspection and judgement I possess, and that my convictions are sincere that it better not be done.

The Northern papers are making a handle of the political portion of my Clarkson Letters.[1] In New Hampshire they are pushed directly at Woodbury and for effect a much more conspicuous position in the Democratic ranks has been assigned me than I ever occupied. I am not sure it would not be good policy to have me read out of them. I propose to have so little to do with politics hereafter—have always so disliked the *name* of Democrat—and really have so little feeling in common with the great body of Democrats out of S° Ca, that such a black balling would cost me very little. If it would do any body any good I would cheerfully submit to it. If I were in public life I would of course adhere as far as I could to the party whose principles and purposes were nearest my own. Being out of it—and probably forever, I dont see why I should belong to any party and should certainly be sorry to embarrass any in the least. Lewis Tappan and I are corresponding and have been for some time. I never thought of such a thing as a publication of the correspondence until he suggested it in his last. I declined, but I fear that I may be served as Birney served Elmore.[2] To prevent it if possible I have taken the matter up in earnest and with a view to drive the notion out of his mind. There are many views of the matter not yet fully treated. Among them is to deprive the Abolitionists of the Clap-trap of the "Golden Rule of Christ", "the laws of nature and natural rights" and to make them

[1] Two Letters on Slavery in the United States, addressed to Thomas Clarkson, Esq., Charleston, 1845.

[2] See the Anti-Slavery Examiner, No. 8, Correspondence between the Hon. F. H. Elmore and James G. Birney, published by the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1838.

enure to our cause—to show that the "Compact" between master and Slave is just and to the advantage of the Latter and to trace "Southern decay" to other causes than Slavery which in fact is all that saves us. I don't want to publish any more on the subject however and shall not do it voluntarily.

Very truly and sincerely yours

J. H. HAMMOND

P. S. To prove how sincerely I approve the Division of the M. Church and the course of the *body* of S°. methodists thus far, I will state, that soon after the Gen'. Conference broke up last year, I got the Circuit preachers to make a Station here, which I support entirely myself. They preach in my School House (and at my plantation also) but I am now completing a handsome Church for them which will cost me $1200. Nor will I fail to contribute my mite to make up any pecuniary losses that may accrue to them from this *Secession* if it be so decided. In fact my advice will be not to sue, but give up the money if the North refuses to divide the funds, and to throw themselves on Southern generosity.

From R. B. Rhett. C. C.

Sept. 18, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR I passed through Washington on my way home; and took the occasion to see M^r. Walker M^r. Buchanan and the President on the subject of the Tariff. My purpose was to ascertain what the administration really proposed to do, and informed them casually of my object. The President was prepared with no details. He went for a reduction of the Tariff, but on no principles that I could understand, unless a mere reduction might be supposed to be a relinquishment of any reformation of principle in the existing Tariff. M^r. Buchanan talked fairer. He said he was indifferent to the principle, believing that a revenue Tariff would afford all the protection required. But still I got from him no details, excepting that he thought the Tariff might be reduced to 25 per Cent. To this however he distinctly declared that Gen'. McKay's Bill of the last Congress ought to be the standard of

reduction and reformation. Mr. Walker was more explicit. He went into details and all his details with one or two exceptions, were precisely Genl. McKay's Bill. After hearing all, I am satisfied that that Bill substantially is all the administration will propose, and that is all we will get, from the Democratic Party, if we get that. I do not think we will obtain however even that.

Under these circumstances, connected with the course of the administration towards our Wing of the Party, it is necessary to determine before Congress meets, what course we shall pursue. Shall we act out the conviction we expressed in the Presidential election, and take it for granted that the administration is about to be true to us? With this line of policy we ought to vote for Mr. Ritchie as Printer, go into Caucus as to who shall be Speaker &c. The Constitution must stop without the printing of the Senate; and we have no organ, in case the Government proves false. Or shall we take the contrary course, take it for granted that the administration and the Democratic Party are about to be false to us, refuse to go into Caucus on the Speakership &c., and run in the Senate for the Printing for the Constitution. The two Carolina Senators and Colquitt and Lewis[1] are [*illegible*] it. For my part, I shall not be found again as at the opening of the last Congress, attempting what our friends have not courage to execute. I must be sure of my game before I attempt it. You know my opinions of the Democratic Party. Circumstances since Mr. Polk's election has not at all altered them, on the contrary every movement at Washington I think has tended to prove my estimation true. Mr. Reverdy Johnson informed me in London that a Senator told him that Walker the Secy of the Treasury had boasted to him, that he was the real author of the Kane Letter;[2] and his questions sent on here, have occasioned great surprise and dissatisfaction. I have no faith in them, in carrying out correct principles. All we can expect on this Tariff, is a modified Protective Tariff Act. And if this proves to be true, what course then shall the Delegation pursue in Congress? Shall they support it and vote for it? or shall they act towards it, as the

[1] Walter T. Colquitt, senator from Georgia; Dixon H. Lewis, of Alabama.
[2] Polk's letter of June 19, 1844, to John K. Kane of Philadelphia, on the tariff.

S°. C°. Delegation did towards the Act of 1832—vote against it, denounce it, and come [home?] to resist it? These are questions that we ought to be prepared to meet at the opening of Congress, for they must shape our line of policy at the beginning.

Write to me at your earliest leisure and believe me Dear Sir

Yours Truly R B RHETT

From R. K. Crallé.[1] C. C.

Blue Sulphur Springs Septr. 23rd 1845

MY DEAR SIR: When I received your letter of the 7th of June I was just on the eve of starting to the Salt works in Kanawha, and had not time to acknowledge its receipt. Indeed I was unwilling to do so before I had seen our friends in person and ascertained their opinions on the views contained in it. I saw Judge McComas and Thompson, (with some others) in the Western part of the State during my stay in Kanawha; and, fortunately, on my return to Lynchburg, six weeks since, met with Goode who was then on his way to Richmond. We had a full conversation on all the topics suggested, and it was agreed that he should see our friends in Richmond, and after obtaining their views communicate with me here. A few days since he passed by this place, (having in the meantime been westward as far as Kentucky) and gave me a pretty full account of all he had been able to ascertain.

There is much diversity of opinion in regard to the main question as well as to the *time*. Seddon and Scott, (and Goode *after* he had conversed with them) incline to the opinion it would be hazardous to venture a rupture with the old clique at this time; believing it better to wait the meeting of the Legislature in order more fully to ascertain the views and wishes of your friends generally. To move now, and more especially in opposition to the cherished system of the Party might, they think, give them the vantage ground, and place formidable weapons in their hands for future use. The course

[1] Richard K. Crallé, originally a journalist, had been confidential clerk to Mr. Calhoun, during the period of the latter's service as Secretary of State. Subsequently, he edited the Works of John C. Calhoun, in six volumes, published in 1851.

they recommend is, (for the present) to wait the progress of events,—to rally the Party during the next Legislature, and organize for the Spring Campaign in the State. To affect this it is proposed to start a State Rights man in every County *avowedly* to test the strength of the Party, and bring out its full force. Goode thinks we can carry the State openly under the "*Calhoun Flag*"—and tells me to say to you that he shall insist upon the open avowal of our determination to sustain it at all hazards. Seddon believes that you are gaining strength every day, and fears to hazard the prospects before us by any decisive movement at present; while he is fixed as steel to run our ticket at all events when the propér time arrives. On this point there is no hesitancy, no diversity of opinion whatever. McComas and Thompson are inclined to the views I expressed to you in my last, and are willing to go into the contest at once. Such also are the wishes of Judge Wilson, who openly declares he will support no other ticket, and I believe Talliaferro, though I have had no communication with him. I have remained here six weeks, and been able to sound the feelings of a large number, not only from the State but from abroad. On the whole I see nothing to discourage,—much to stimulate us. Your friends are firmer than I have yet known them to be; and the miserable conduct and weak fetches at reform of the Administration have greatly tended to disgust the Country and turn the eyes of thinking men towards you. The Whig Party, too, is destined to add to our strength, partly from ultraism of its Leaders at the North, and partly from having lost its most cherished head. It must disband. The change of leaders always tends to division, and more especially when a favourite is to be supplanted. Clay has been on here no doubt for the purpose of rallying his friends and saving himself from being thrown over board. His confidence was strong when he went on to the White Sulphur; but he was, (as I was fully assured) miserably disappointed. Tired of fighting under a leader so often defeated, the managers of the Party had resolved to raise the banner of another. His travelling companion, Maj. Tilford, gave me to understand so much; and, indeed, Clay's fallen countenance and sad forebodings of the future, told, in very intelligible language, that his hopes were gone. He conversed with me in quite a friendly way,

and spoke kindly of you, as did also Maj. Tilford, who publicly declared, as I understand, that he went for you after Mr. Clay. This *feeling* will not be confined to him. Many disappointed in their first choice, will follow in the same course. McLean, who is to be the Candidate, will be unable to rally the Party. I hear that Stevenson at the White Sulphur, as well as two or three others of the old clique, have been speaking quite favourably of you. This, however, may be but hollow *seeming*. On the whole I think, without some untoward circumstance, we shall carry the State Rights Flag triumphantly in the State. The Tariff question, I fear, may be used to prejudice us. Some such arrangement as that of McLane's bill in 1832, may probably be resorted to more for the purpose of acting on your State than of settling the question. Walker will probably push it at you, in order to further the views of Dallas, or even Wright or himself. If they can drive S. Carolina into Nullification, they will give you, as they expect the *coup de grace*. Such I fear is the scheme. *Entre nous*, I am told that Mr. Rhett declared at the Salt Sulphur that if the Tariff was not brought down to the Revenue standard at once, the State would nullify, and that if you did not go to the full with them they would throw you over board. Such I was told by some gentleman here was the purport of his remarks.

I am disposed, on a full view of the whole matter, to accede to the views of Seddon, and to wait the events of the next session; though not clear that the present time is the most unfavourable. We shall not lose, however, by the delay, as there will be time enough to organize after the Spring. All that I desired to guard against was the falling of our friends into the [word missing] snare. This I believe may not now be apprehended and *en passant*, allow me to caution you against writing on the subject but in the most confidential way, and to friends not only *true* but *discreet*. Your letter to Elmore was forwarded to Seddon and Scott, and seen by both. Now Scott is as true and warm a friend as any in the Union, but he is not *discreet*. Ritchie, I am told, can *worm* anything out of him. For this reason I did not allow him to know the contents of your letter to me. Seddon is quite the reverse, and you can communicate with him freely. I suppose Mr.

Elmore is not well acquainted with our friend S. This, of course, is *between us*.

I shall leave this the day after tomorrow for Lynchburg; having been detained by surveying a tract of land which I have purchased in the neighborhood, and will settle this winter. I am sorry to hear that Miss Cornelia was so little improved by her Physicians in Philadelphia, tho' I was by no means sanguine. To her and to Mrs. Calhoun, Bettie joins me in offering the kindest regards, as well as to yourself. She is *somewhat* improved tho' still delicate. The next summer will be passed at our farm here; and she *will* flatter herself that she will have the company of yourself and family. I cannot but unite with her in the hope.

With high regard and affection I am truly yours

R. K. CRALLÉ

From Duff Green. C. C.

Washington. Sepr. 24th. 1845

MY DEAR SIR I am met at every corner with the enquiry of whether you will come to the senate. I do not know that my opinion will have any influence and I may be deemed impertinent but I venture to give you a few suggestions.

I believe that Mr Polk really feels pledged to exert his influence to reduce the tariff to the revenue standard, and to establish the Subtreasury and that he intends to fulfil his pledges in good faith. But this is more than I can say for all those who are about him.

I believe that Ritchie would sell the democratic party and Virginia too for the public printing and I have no doubt that he is laboring to get up a coalition with Benton for that purpose, and that Benton's object is to bring McDower into the senate, when with Bagby, Allen, Fairfield, and Dix, and the chances for the senators from N Hampshire Indiana and Tennessee he will be disposed to set up for himself and by throwing himself between you and the administration assume the control of the Government.

My belief is that if you come to the senate you will find the President sincerely your friend, and that the fact of your coming, especially if you are here at the commencement of

the session, will enable your friends to control the elections in Virginia and to give the printing of the Senate to the Constitution and the House to Ritchie, that the publication of McKensie's book[1] in which he gives the Confidential Correspondence of the Albany Regency will create a crisis that will induce the party to rally on you as the only means of saving the party, but to do this you must be here.

I saw Hannegan of Indiana yesterday. He says that the West will be united and will demand funds for the improvements of their harbours, rivers and the Cumberland road, and the graduation of the price of the public land, and that if the South will give these to the West the West will go with the South on the tariff. This is Benton's card. I write that you may understand it.

McKensie's book discloses a mass of corrupt intrigues the equal to which has not been before disclosed in this country, and the contrast with your public life will endear you to the country.

The foolish declaration in the "Union" that the President wishes to use your friends to elect his end upon, will react on Ritchie and force him into an early declaration that he prefers you to all others, if you are here to control your friends.

I have seen the correspondent of the Charleston Mercury and he has promised me that he will be on his guard and always bear in mind that Benton's object is to throw himself between you and the administration. I have been a looker on and gratified to see this controversy, take a turn that will, as I hope, defeat the purposes which Benton has in View. and can see that if treated with judgment by the Mercury, it will prevent the mischief which the coalition with Benton would otherwise have done. The coalition with Benton is so infamous that Ritchie will be compelled to deny it in terms that will do Benton injury and the public mind being aroused will see and condemn any attempt to execute the purposes which Benton had in View.

We are anxious to hear from Mrs Calhoun, as the last accounts said she was very ill. Mrs Green and Eliza wish to be affectionately remembered to Mrs Calhoun and Cornelia.

Your sincere friend DUFF GREEN

[1] W. L. Mackenzie, The Lives and Opinions of B. F. Butler and Jesse Hoyt, Boston, 1845.

From H. W. Conner. C. C.

Charleston Septr 28—1845

MY DEAR SIR I have just returned from New York where I have spent the last month

The people there, without exception as to party are extremely desirous of seeing and communicating with you personally and it does seem to me that there are reasons more numerous and powerful at the present time to induce you to do so than at any former period and with all possible deference to your better knowledge and experience I now venture to recommend your visiting the city of New York and Boston and stopping at Richmond in Virginia on your return you will understand my motive better when I state my reasons.

There is at this time a complete breaking up and disorganization of old combinations and machinery of party. There is no principle of cohesion amongst them except the common love of plunder and so corrupt have the politicians of both parties become that they dare not confide long enough in each other even to commit an act of party pillage The truth is both parties are tired of their own leaders and party practices and are ripe for a reorganization upon better principles and upon better men—if they had them. Towards yourself there is a feeling of confidence both as regards your personal character and political principles that surpasses that of all other men—and it is not confined to our party alone. It is common to both—in fact it is nearly universal. your putting yourself into easy and familiar personal intercourse with the people generally at this particular time would in my opinion lead to a reorganization of the democratic party in New York upon sounder principles and with more elevated views than has heretofore been the case, and which would result in maintaining and preserving the the ascendancy of the party, without which defeat would be the consequence. you would serve as a neuclus around which would rally the better and greater part of the democratic party—with a considerable body of the whig party—many of whom have been forced into the whig ranks from a dread of the disorganizing and levelling tendencies of some of the ultra doctrines of the ultras of the party. This is one reason requiring you, as I conceive, to

visit New York and it has for its object the general good of the Country and the party.

In addition to this I perceived I think a decided change coming over the minds of the people upon the subject of the Tarriff and abolition questions The free trade principles have evidently gained ground from the late movements in England as well as from a better understanding of the subject and the minds of very many—heretofore decidedly Tarriff—are a good deal unsettled latterly, particularly amongst the manufacturers themselves—while as regards abolition, the opinion is becoming settled that the two races cannot exist together except in subjection, one to the other, and that it is philanthropy misapplied to attempt to interfere with the subject of Slavery. The public mind to the North is in a condition now to be shaped and directed by your personal intercourse with the people there, in such a way I think as to ensure the modification of the Tarriff and peace upon the subject of abolition, except from the Fanatics alone. The deep and abiding interest which the South has in these two questions furnishes abundant reason to recommend your visit to New York, for these objects alone.

There is another reason—personal to yourself and on that account held by you as very secondary in comparison to the other public considerations—yet should surely not be without its weight. I allude to your position before the public in reference to the Next Presidency. It appears to me you are the only man upon whom all that portion of the party who look to the good of the Country can unite. If this be so it appears to me it is a duty you owe the people to give them an opportunity of seeing and knowing you personally. In New York the desire to see and hold communion with you is so great that your withholding yourself from them has been viewed almost with resentment. They begin to think you have no feelings or sympathy in common with the people—altho all your acts and speeches go to prove the contrary. The present condition of things in New York renders it peculiarly desirable that you should go amongst them—talk with them—hear them talk and explain yourself in your usual free happy way to them. The feeling already is strong and powerful in your favour—particularly amongst the young democ-

racy but a personal intercourse with them would ripen the feeling into a confidence and enthusiasm that no selfish or designing combination of corrupt partizans could ever remove.

I have spoken of the present time as favourable for the visit. I mean before the meeting of Congress—after that time circumstances may have been changed and the occasion in a great measure lost.

If you preferd to go by invitation the slightest intimation from any quarter that you could be induced to go would bring instantly the warmest kind of an invitation. My impression is that an informal visit is preferable. I should be glad to know your views.

I sent you by fridays mail "The life and correspondence of B F Butler and Jesse Hoyt late Collector of New York". It is in fact the private history of the politics of N York for the last 10 or 20 years. It contains details of a system that you have known to be in operation amongst that class of politicians for many years

with greatest respect yrs truly

H. W. CONNER

From John Tyler. C. C.

Sherwood Forest Charles City County V^a October 7. 1845

MY DEAR SIR: Your esteemed favor of the 30. August in consequence from my absence from home did not reach me until last Saturday. I have read Dr Caminero's letter[1] which is herewith returned, and fully concur with you in the policy of recognizing the independence of the Dominican Republic should Mr Hogan's report satisfactorily establish the fact of its perfect ability to maintain itself against the Haytien gov^t. and people. The experiment which the blacks have made of governing themselves has resulted in bloodshed and anarchy, and the most fertile Island in the world is almost converted into a waste. Apart from the considerations adverted to by Dr Caminero, this would constitute with me a sufficient reason for desiring to see the Dominican Republic free and inde-

[1] Letter of July 16, 1845, *supra*.

pendent. But My Dr Sir I do not feel myself warranted as the Doctor would seem to desire, in urging upon Mr Polk the adoption of any particular policy. I must content myself with the reflection that we have through the labors of Mr Hogan placed him in possession of all necessary information on the subject. To volunteer to him an opinion might be considered as going too far. The Settlement of the Texas question fills me, I declare to you, with a pleasure greater than I can express—not so much from the fact that the finishing hand was put to it by my administration, as from the consequences, incalculably great, which are to flow from it. Nor can I ever forget the important aid which you afforded me in all that related to it after your accession to my Cabinet. I called you from a retirement which it pained you to leave to assist me properly to adjust the important matters which then occupied me, and in the spirit of a true and lofty patriotism you answered the call satisfactorily, and to say nothing of other matters the Country will long have cause to rejoice in the great measure which our conjoint labours assisted by those of able and patriotic associates enabled us to consummate. I never doubted the wisdom of the prompt decision in favour of the House-resolution. A mere feeling of courtesy to my successor could alone cause a moments hesitation and that was easily gotten over. The doubt arising from a new organization of the Cabinet and a knowledge of the extreme solicitude of the British gov^t., plainly indicated the policy of leaving nothing undone that could be done.

I left the gov^t. with but one wish remaining unfulfilled, and that related to the Oregon Question. I wished you to terminate that negociation. I entered upon it with reluctance believing that under the convention of joint occupation we stood on the most favourable footing. Our population was already finding its way to the shores of the Pacific, and a few years would see an American Settlement on the Columbia sufficiently strong to defend itself and to protect the rights of the U. States to the territory.

Aberdeen however expressed in some despatch a regret that that matter remained open, and the Treaty of Washington was assailed by Mr Benton and others upon that ground and finally a clamour was raised in relation to the Subject through-

out the country, which was loudest in the west, and nothing seemed to remain but that negotiation should be attempted. With Prudence and fortitude on the part of the administration my hope is that it may result in an amicable termination—but it requires firmness to do what is right on the part of those in power. What their views may be concerning it, I have no means of ascertaining. With England a mere point of honor is involved which she will go to war upon if urged to that extremity, but peace with us is so important to her, that she will be ready to make concessions in order to secure it. If however it be the intention of Mr Polk to make no concessions, he should without delay demand of Mexico an explanation of her ultimate intentions, while he procrastinates the negociation with Great Britain. But my hope is that wise councils will prevail, and that an actual collision with Great Britain will be avoided.

I give my attention but little to public affairs and am devoting myself to the cultivation of my farm. The turmoil through which I have passed serves only the more to render acceptable my present repose. Should you ever pass near my residence it would give me the truest pleasure to receive you within my doors.

Mrs. Tyler desires to be remembered to Mrs Calhoun to whom present my best respects, and for yourself accept sincere assurances of my regard.

JOHN TYLER.

From James Gadsden. C. C.

Charleston S C Octr 9–45

MY DEAR SIR I cannot sufficiently express my regret at any misconstruction I may have placed on your letter of the 23 Sept. Your language was—"I expect to be on a visit to my sons in Alabama at the time, and if I could with propriety, I would make it a point to attend." Now any scruples, which you may have had of going to such a convention[1] as a Volunteer, it seems to me are removed and with "*great propriety*" by the invitation sent direct by those who made the Call; and

[1] The railroad convention at Memphis in November.

by the particular request of this State that you should attend to represent her interest on the leading questions which will form the Subjects of action at Memphis. Your presence would be very important to your Native State, and to all those projects in which she has so deep a stake. We are on the eve of realizing all the fond hopes and expectations of 1836: and this is not the time for our strong and leading men to falter. I have toiled: as much if not more so on these matters. I have very nearly sacrificed myself in the Cause, and to be left alone at the time I need most encouragement; and the strongest backers is cruel. I do not know of more than 6 or 8 of our Delegation that will go from this City. We made our appointments from the Class that we thought would attend and most of them are begging off. If I go it will be at great sacrifice and I certainly will not go if you, Elmore and King Back out. King is lukewarm cold—pretends he has not been invited &c and so it is. the laboring oar is to [be] left on the hands of one who has not the power to use it.

But I come now to the subject which seems to have given you some very false scruples on the matter. Whatever may be the designs of Friends of Reform and Free Trade Your Name is not at present before the American People, and as much as I appreciate the motives of those who abstain from seeking high Elevation, yet those who are the Exponents of the Great Political *Truths* we wish to propogate, and the Reform we desire to effect, must go and be heard by those on whom it is absolutely necessary to operate. So long as the People are not reached directly; so long as an intermediate power by *Organization* and *false pretences* can deceive these People, so long will we, the Advocates of *Truth* and *honesty*, fail. The People must be reached directly. Caucus and Conventions, the packed juries of Van Burenism must be exposed and put down. I am not afraid of our Cause if the People can hear us. It is the Cause of equal rights, and of unrestricted American industry, and if we could only be heard, Van Burenism with all its selfishness, and duplicity would be swept into nought. But to do so—to have this triump[h] You as well as all who have been true to the Cause must put your Shoulder to the Wheel. The Time was never

more propitious for a happy Revolution—For the formation of new Parties—or rather the bringing back of Democracy to its simplicity and honesty. To free it from the snears into which it has been deluded by Conventions and to make it stand erect as speaking the *honest* and voice of the People—I have for years yielded to the views of my friends and have for years been cooperating with them: with the perfect conviction of defeat. My letters to you have spoken unreservedly my views. I know I am right I have not seen a *true Democrat* North, who has not [felt] what I have long preached: that there is no coalescing with the Northern Democracy. You must shake them off unless you are disposed again and again to be reached and to be placed in a false position. Now is the time to do it. Now is the time to meet our Western friends at Memphis—to set the ball in motion which must bring the Valley to the South: and make them feel as allies of the Great Commercial and Agricultural interests—instead of the Tax gathering and Monopolizing interests of the North. I shall expect to see You at Memphis.

Your friend

GADSDEN

From Franklin H. Elmore. C. C.

Lemishire Springs Oct 10, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR The last mail brings me a letter from Gov. Aikin appointing me one of the Delegates for the State at Large to a Rail Road Convention at Memphis to assemble the 12th nov. next. A letter from a friend also informs me that you are the other. I am not a little rejoiced at this movement in all its aspects except as to myself, for it is out of my power to go. My affairs here will engross me intirely until I am compelled to go to Charleston to prepare for the Session. It would be disastrous to me to leave them as they now are. But you I most ardently hope can and will go. In all respects it will be most important that you do. You have been too much secluded from the people. They have an inexpressible anxiety to see and know you and on such an occasion as this, where so much may be done to advance Southern interests, to

form and consolidate a right sentiment, to unite our Section upon the right policy and principles on which to place their destinies, it would be a sad oversight I think to decline, if you can possibly go. The work in hand, is itself, aside from these considerations, one of the greatest moment. I think more of good would result to South Carolina from its accomplishment than from any ever yet projected. A Rail Road Communication based at Memphis in a slave region and extended direct to Charleston, passing through the most Martial portion of our people and who have, as at present situated, the least interest of all the South in Slavery, would render their relations with us at Charleston and Memphis so intimate and advantageous, that their interests and ours would be indissolubly united. They would be to us a source of strength power and safety and render the South invulnerable. The influence of free intercourse could not be otherwise than happy and useful. The value of the trade I do not believe could be now estimated, and it would make the stocks of our Rail Road like the Shares in the Bank of England, almost without price as the means of computing values in an enterprize to whose gains every moment is adding.

The call upon you from the public to go and attend to their welfare is one too which takes from the occasion all ground of imputation. It is a public duty and to be done at the instance and for the benefit of your State and the Country at large It is fitting that when a scheme of such grandeur and importance to the South is to be perfected and brought before the Country, that one who has served it so long, so faithfully and so ably should participate in the measure which, if guided aright, will be the most useful of any ever projected for us. . . .

Very truly

F. H. ELMORE

From Henry Wheaton.[1] C. C.

Berlin, 24 Dec. 1845

MY DEAR SIR, As it has been stated in the newspapers that you would probably resume your seat in the Senate, I beg

[1] Henry Wheaton (1785-1848), the distinguished jurist and writer upon international law, had represented the United States in Denmark and Prussia since 1827.

leave to call your attention to a subject in which the public interests, as well as what is due to yourself and me as public servants, are deeply concerned. I have always considered that great injustice was done me in taking off the injunction of secrecy from the proceedings of the Senate, so far as respected the *Report* of the Committee of Foreign Affairs upon the Zollverein treaty, whilst the injunction was continued as to my Despatches of the 10 and 25 March, 1844, accompanying the Treaty, and which would have anticipated and met, with more or less conclusiveness, the arguments urged by the Committee against the ratification. So long as there were any reasons connected with the public good for withholding the documents from the People, I should have been perfectly willing to have submitted to any personal inconvenience that might have followed. But now that the Zollverein States have declared that they are not willing to wait any longer the deliberations of the Senate upon the Treaty, I see no possible inconvenience in publishing the correspondence relating to it. I have therefore to request that you will have the goodness to call for it in the Senate, and have it printed and published.

In order to have a complete view of the subject, it is necessary to go back to the origin of the negotiation in the Conferences at Stuttgard in 1842, the Despatches relating to which, you will perceive are intimately connected with *our* Tariff question. I have therefore prepared the enclosed list of the Papers which I conceive to be indispensibly necessary—not *extracts* merely, but the *entire* despatches with all their *Enclosures*. I have not omitted even my Despatch of the 25 March, 1844, although it has already been communicated confidentially to the Senate; as it ought to be printed in connection with the other Documents especially as I presume few copies will be found of the former impression. I have carefully read over all the Papers, and can answer for it that there is nothing in them, the publication of which can prejudice the public interests. The unanswerable argument contained in your Despatch of the 28 June 1844 will amply supply any defects in the views I have taken by anticipation of the constitutional difficulty raised by the Committee of the Senate. The Zollverein States are not disposed, at present, to revive

the negotiation on the basis of the former Treaty, as they expect to obtain, in the revision of our Tariff by Congress, reductions in favour of their manufactures, without conceding any equivalent reductions in favour of our agricultural staples; and should this be the result of the deliberations of Congress, it will be seen that a golden opportunity has been lost, in not obtaining such equivalents for reduction, which we shall have been compelled to make gratuitously in order to get rid of an exagerrated Tariff.

We have not yet received the President's message at the opening of Congress, but I shall look with intense interest for the result of your deliberations, on the present state of our relations with G. Britain, respecting which I have no other information than what is contained in the newspapers. But so far as I am able to judge from the means of information which are equally open to the whole world, I still continue to think that "the wise and masterly delay" referred to in your Speech on the Ashburton treaty, continues still to be our true policy in respect to the Oregon question. But as I do not know how far the position of that question may have been changed by what has passed between the two Governments during the negotiations of the two last years, this opinion is, of course, subject to such qualifications as may result from the Paper, which will doubtless be communicated to Congress.

I am, my dear Sir, ever truly your obliged friend

H WHEATON

From Fernando Wood.[1] C. C.

New York Decr 26 1845

DEAR SIR Enclosed I send a slip from the Journal of Commerce of this city. The two articles marked contain the sentiments of a very large majority of our business men. We feel much alarmed by the illtimed and imprudent course of

[1] Fernando Wood (1812-1881) had lately represented New York in Congress, 1841-1843. Subsequently he was several times mayor of New York and representative in Congress. He was preeminently distinguished as a political manipulator.

Cass and Allen.[1] We can see no necessity for forcing the country into a position from which there is no retreat and which makes *war* inevitable. We say do us justice on the Tariff question and Englands ministry cannot be sustained by her people in hostilities on account of Oregon. Her people will think that the interests of the Hudson Bay Company are not paramount to those of her starving populace.

I need not add, all eyes are turned on you! Twenty times a day I am asked "What course will the great Calhoun take on the Oregon question?"

Politicians of all parties look for your sagacity—experience and far seeing wisdom to stand between the great interests of the country, and the Hotspurs who in a spirit of demagogism would destroy us as they have themselves.

We know that even popular sentiment cannot drive you from a position which in your heart you deem to be correct—and we also know that in your estimation the loud declamation of adventurers is not to be heeded when the calm, silent opinions of the industrious and producing classes is antagonistic to them.

My dear Sir as a friend allow me to recommend that in your course on this great and at present excitable question that you let the impetuous patriots who are bidding for the war party have "their say" for be assured "they have their day" *now!*

Moderation—*silence* and caution on your part will in a few months, when peaceful relations are restored and public sentiment sees its present folly; place you on higher ground than any living man can attain in this country. Excuse me when I add that J. C. Calhoun needs but to stand still and as sure as the day comes, so sure will '49 see him where his deserts long since should have placed him—*viz* the chief magistrate of the Confederacy. Your course in 1812 established fully your reputation as an advocate for war, when good cause called for it. No man can or does doubt your patriotism. It needs therefore no endorsement, or reitteration.

The great speech on this Oregon question in which "masterly inactivity" was recommended lives in our hearts and is our position.

[1] Respecting notice to England on Oregon.

Hoping you will excuse the liberty which an old and sincere friend thus takes, and believing it a duty to express my views freely and frankly on this important subject I remain

As ever Truly Yours &c

FERNANDO WOOD

From Joel R. Poinsett. C. C.

White House Peedee Georgetown S° C^a Dec 27" 1845

MY DEAR SIR As it appears to me, that in the present aspect of our affairs with Great Britain, the only alternatives that remain are to maintain our rights by arms or to submit them to the decision of some friendly power; and perceiving that the latter is repudiated by our friends on the ground that the monarchs of Europe are prejudiced against us and will not deal fairly with us I have thought it might be in the interest of peace to intimate my belief, that the court of Russia might be safely trusted with the settlement of this question. The Emperor Alexander frequently spoke to me on this subject. He advocated our claim to the 54° and proposed to enter into a treaty of mutual guarantee of the possessions of Russia and the United States to that limit. These proposals I submitted to Mr Madison and Mr Munroe but our possessions on the north west coast did not excite much interest at that period. It is true they were made prior to the treaties concluded with Russia by the United States and Great Britain which secured those possessions to the former; but the policy of that power is unvarying and no doubt the views entertained by that government at that time are recorded in their college of foreign affairs and would govern its' decision.

I have the honor to remain very respectfully

Your ob^t Servt

J. R. POINSETT

From Stephen Smith.[1] C. C.

Bodega, Upper California Decr. 30th 1845.

DEAR SIR, In Compliance with my promise I embrace this opportunity to lay before you in brief the results of the few

[1] See Bancroft's History of California, VI, 20.

observations which I have been able to make since my return here, respecting the natural resources and elements of prosperity of this Country. After all my detention and troubles in Mexico I arrived here on the 7th of August and found all things in my Establishment to my perfect satisfaction; and after making such arrangements as were necesary at this place, I proceeded to the Pueblo de los Angeles for the purpose of instituting an examination respecting the richness of the Gold Placer existing near that place. This examination occupied me something more than two months, and resulted in showing the Gold washing not to be so good and profitable as I anticipated. There is gold dust to be found over a large tract of country in the vicinity of the Angeles, and also as I am informed, in many other parts of the Coast; and in some spots of small extent, it has been found *very rich;* so that some of the operatives made great wages for a short time in washing and faning out the gold dust, and the statements of these few have made a great noise in the Country; while many others have worked equally hard for months together and found nothing; or, in some cases, barely made a living. There can be no doubt however, that there is a immense quantity of gold and other rich metals in the country; for, in searching after some spots that might be rich enough in gold to pay well for *washing;* I have found various silver, gold and copper *mines*, which appear to be *very rich*, and are so situated as to be easily worked. As I have no means of essaying them here, I have sent samples of the ores to the City of Mexico to ascertain their value, and am now waiting the results. I have found in several places an abundant supply of rich iron Ore, which, so far as I can judge appears to contain a large per:-Centage of silver, and some of the veins are near the Sea Shore. I have also discovered a rich antimonial ore, which probably also contains plenty of silver; and the best indications of extensive bituminous coal mines exist here in all directions. Lead and quicksilver also, undoubtedly exist in the Country in abundance. They have already commenced working a rich copper mine within a mile of a good ship harbor on this Coast, and I have no doubt that many others could be found in that vicinity. We only want the Flag of the U. S. and a good lot of Yankees, and you would soon see the im-

mense natural riches of the Country developed and her commerce in a flourishing condition. To see that Flag planted here would be most Acceptable to the Sons of Uncle Sam, and by no means repugnant to the native population. This, like the general government of Mexico is *very unstable* and the property of foreigners cannot by any means be considered secure. We hope and trust that on this Account as also to protect the trade and the interests of our Citizens residing here with their property, at least one American Ship of War will be kept Cruising on the Coast.

The soil of the Coast is rich and fertile, and with this Climate of almost perpetual summer, it affords *immense advantages* for *grazing* and agriculture. The Cultivation of the grape is fast increasing and the this years crop is uncommonly fine. The licor and wine manufactured from the grape grown here will Soon Compete in quality with the best European, and may become an Article of export. A few have Commenced the Cotton planting, which has been found to yield uncommonly well.

From the Accounts from Mexico we have been expecting a war between the U. S. and that republic, but from So long delay, we now begin to think it will blow over with a paper war.

Since my return to this Country my Steam Mills have gone on well and are now in full operation. The emigrants who left the U. S. last Spring have arrived on this frontier to the number, as is reported of nearly one thousand.

For the best of reasons, as we are here within the power of the Mexican Government, you will please to Consider this letter Strictly private and Confidential.

I have Dear Sir the distinguished honor to remain

Yours most truly and respectfully.

STEPHEN SMITH.

From Henry Wheaton. C. C.

Berlin, 26 Jan. 1846

MY DEAR SIR, I had the pleasure to write you on the 24 Dec. suggesting the expediency of your calling for the correspondence respecting the Zollverein treaty in order that it

may be *published*, and justice may be done us respecting the motives and grounds on which that negotiation proceeded.

I have seen with the greatest satisfaction the manly stand taken by you in the Senate in favour of an honorable arrangement of our disputes with G Britain respecting the Oregon territory. If we escape as I trust we shall, the calamities of an unnecessary war, the most enlightened and virtuous portion of your countrymen will certainly attribute it mainly to your patriotic exertions. No official station to which you could be raised by the suffrages of your fellow citizens would give you a higher place in their affections, or enable you to render a greater service to the Country.

I think it due to the friendship with which you have so long honored me to state *confidentially* that having received some time since an intimation from Mr Buchanan that the President had determined to send a new Minister to Berlin in the course of the present Session of the Senate, which determination was communicated to me in such a way as left me no other alternative but to ask for my recall, I have accordingly done so, and expect to receive it in the month of April. I cannot help thinking that if I had been supported *in the proper quarter*, the President would not have taken this step. But whether it is now too late for him to retrace it, I do not know; or whether he would be disposed to do so, if he knew that I was a *friend of yours*. But I thought it right to let you know that although I have nothing to complain of as to the *manner* in which this measure was adopted and intimated to me, yet it will be attended with very great personal inconvenience, with-[out] any adequate correspondent advantage, that I can perceive, to the public or the party. Mr Buchanan states to me that it has been taken in pursuance of a supposed rule limiting all foreign missions to the term of four years. The best proof that no such rule exists, or at least that cases of peculiar aptitude for the diplomatic service have been considered as exceptions to it, will be found in the fact of my having been employed in this mission more than twice that length of time, during which it is admitted that I have performed my duties "with distinguished zeal and ability" to make use of Mr B's own words. But what I have to complain of is, that I had not sooner been informed that it was meant to apply this

asserted rule to my case. Had this been done, as it might have been immediately on the formation of the present Administration I should have received the appointment of Professor of Law in the University of Cambridge vacant by the death of Judge Story. But as my friends could not learn on enquiry at Washington that there was any intention of recalling me, they were not able to answer for my accepting the vacant chair at Cambridge, and as there was a necessity for filling it almost immediately it was impossible to wait until my determination could be known.

Under these circumstances I should be very glad to learn whether the President may not perhaps still be disposed to avail the public of my diplomatic services in some other mission. I understand that both the missions to Paris and London will be vacated in the course of the present year, in which case an opportunity would be afforded for that purpose. I write to no other person but you on the subject, because I know that it is only through your powerful interposition that I can hope still to continue in my present line of employment.

Apologizing for troubling you so often on my personal concerns, I remain ever, my dear Sir, truly your obliged friend,

H. WHEATON

From Henry Wheaton. C. C.

London, Feb. 10, 1846

DEAR SIR, When I last wrote you I did not expect to have an occasion to address you from here. But haveing no business on hand, I left Berlin a few days since to make a visit to my family at Paris, intending to return to my post very soon, *there* to await the arrival of my successor who is expected in the latter part of April.

Since I have been here I have availed myself of frequent opportunities of intercourse with leading personages, of all parties and in various positions, to ascertain the prevailing impressions with regard to our differences with this Country, and I have been very happy to find even a more conciliatory and pacific spirit prevailing than I expected to perceive. I believe the subject is beginning to be understood in all its

bearings, and that neither the Govt nor the People are disposed to push matters to extremities unless it should be made necessary by some provocation on our part, and I do not believe that the passage of a joint resolution authorizing the President to notify the expiration of the Oregon Convention would be considered as a measure of hostility. Indeed it appears to be very important to the success of the negotiation that we should not appear to be a *divided* Nation, and in my conversations I have always let it be distinctly understood that we shall *all* stand upon the parallel of 49 as the boundary most just, equitable, and convenient for the partition of the country,—without admitting to them the possibility even of some *modification* of this basis of adjustment although some such appears to be desired here. Still it is universally regretted that Mr P—m[1] should have so peremptorily rejected that proposition, and the difficulty now seems to be how to correct this error. Our rejection of their countor-proposition for a reference will not, I fear, help us in public opinion here, but it will do no harm if the two Governments will set about in earnest to treat the question as one of *boundary* to be settled between them, so as to divide the territory fairly with a view to all the circumstances of forts, navigation, &c and to the maintainance of peace on the frontier thus established.

Much mischief has been produced here by the intemperate language used in Congress respecting this Country, which even our friends do not consider as warranted by the occasion. I believe the Govt may be induced to yield the 49th parallel, as the basis of boundary with some modifications, but I think they will require the *temporary* navigation of the Columbia river. The interests existing north of the river are not considered here as important, but it is deemed a point of honour to maintain them, and that the navigation of the river for a term of years is necessary for that purpose until the fur trade ceases to exist. In short this is one of the modifications of the President's propositions which I think would be desirable in order to render the concession more palatable to the Nation. I repeat that there is a sincere desire for peace with us, and no exagerrated notion of the value of the Country to them; but

[1] Pakenham.

a strong determination not to yield to threats, and a strong feeling of their tremendous power of annoying us. Indeed *they* would also be a united nation, if war should be the result of a rejection on our part of what the civilized world would consider as fair terms of compromise. The great movement which is going on here in favour of the principles of free trade, it is hoped will have a favorable effect in encouraging a pacific feeling with us. It opens the prospect of our being hereafter more useful to each other than we have ever yet been, and I hope will induce both Nations to reflect how much more good they can do each other in peace, than they can inflict of evil in war—if indeed there were any comparison in the choice of these so far as the true interest of nations are concerned. I have great pleasure in assuring you that your efforts as a *mediator* are duly appreciated here whilst it is well known that you are the last man who would yield anything in which the rights and honour of our Country were concerned.

It is not doubted that Sir R. Peel's propositions will be carried in the Commons by such a majority as will render their rejection by the Lords utterly impossible.

Truly yours,

H. W.

From Duff Green. C. C.

Trenton. 22nd. feby. 1846

My dear Sir Excuse me for making a few suggestions on points personal to yourself and which it is important for you to treat of in the debate on the resolutions for notice.

The partisans of Clay and Cass are laboring to Creat an impression that you are sectional—not national; and that your support of the annexation of Texas is inconsistent with your present Course as to Oregon and attribute it to a desire to keep up a "balance of power" between the slave holding and non slaveholding states.

It is important to show that the idea of such a balance of power is preposterous, that the slave holding states are now and ever must be in a minority, that the South stands on the defensive and that the attacks come from both parties at the

north, who, knowing that the south are and ever must be in a minority agitate the question because the tendency of that agitation is to create a sectional northern party organised on the basis of placing the Government in the hands of *northern* men.

Your course in relation to Oregon is the same now as it has been heretofore. It is the only course that can secure to us the whole of Oregon.

You were *then* for immediate annexation of Texas because that was the only course to obtain the whole or any part of Texas and because the acquisition of Texas was an important step in securing our rights in Oregon.

You are *now* for "masterly inactivity" in relation to Oregon, because that is the only means of obtaining the whole of Oregon, and in this connection I would meet and denounce in the most solemn and decided manner the imputation that you have been influenced by any jealousy of the growth or political preponderance of the north as such.

So far from restricting the territory out of which free states are to be made your policy would enlarge that Territory. This is now the most important part of the whole subject.

If notice is given now that notice will find the English in undisputed possession of all the country north of the Columbia. How are they to be dispossessed? By force? If so it is war. By negociation? If so will notice strengthen our claim or place the question in a shape more favorable to us? It cannot be denied that so far the negociation and the discussion have been so conducted on the part of England as to throw upon us the *Onus* in case of war, and at the same time to place England in a position that she cannot well be the first to resort to hostile measures.

If we give notice England will take measures to prevent settlement north of the Columbia and thus limit our possession to the south, whereas if we do not give the notice we can take measures to Colonise as far north as 54° if we desire it, and in a few years possess the whole country without giving cause for war.

If we give notice we must abandon all north of 49°, if not all north of the Columbia unless we enforce our claim by

War. Whereas without notice we can acquire the whole country up to 54°.

This aspect of the question enables you to meet the imputation of "punic faith" which much as you may despise the charge is now the hope of your political enemies. Silence that *Charge* for *Charge* it is, and you obtain a triumph for yourself and for the country which will have a permanent influence for good. You have never occupied a more enviable position. The eyes of the world are upon you, the hopes of the Country rest on you. Millions are prepared to speak your praise—meet this slander and you give an argument to the friends of the Constitution every where that will for a long time silence or overwhelm the Abolition movement—for this Charge is but the political aspect which that question has assumed and should be so treated.

Again the slave holding influence cannot be increased by bringing in new slaveholding states—that influence depends upon the numerical increase of the slaves themselves and not upon the acquisition of new territory.

Again, If there were but 9 instead of 14 slave holding states the Jealousy of the majority would Cease. Now political agitators assert that the[re] is a *minority* holding *equal* political influence and they make war on a system which gives an equality of power to a minority—get rid of this idea of a "balance of power" by showing that no such balance exists and you take from these agitators the foundation on which their agitation rests.

Not having mingled with the masses as I have done you cannot understand or appreciate the effect which the studied misrepresentation of your views and position in relation to this subject has on the public opinion of the North.

At this moment the great body of the people sympathise with you on the Oregon question and the most important results will follow the proper use of the present occasion, for your speech will find its way into every news paper and be read by almost every man in the country capable of reading it. What is more to the point they will be in a state of mind to be favorably impressed by what you say. All that has been said by others prepares the way for you to take this view of the subject and upon your doing so, in my opinion

very much depends your standing and influence with the country.

I would call your attention to the remarks of the London Times which you will find in the Herald of the 21st (yesterday), in which they say that war with the United States will be popular in England, and there is much force and truth in the statement of the reasons for it.

It is said that the notice[1] will not be considered by England as a cause of war or offence. It is even said that England is willing that the notice should be given.

The notice if given strengthens the position of England. It leaves her in possession of all north of the Columbia and compels us to become the aggressor. If we do become the aggressor, after what has transpired in Parliament and the offer of arbitration, we will be divided and England united. The consequence will be that we must lose the Country north of the Columbia.

Excuse these suggestions. They may have no merit but it is the part of friendship to make them.

yours truly DUFF GREEN

From Louis McLane.[2] C. C.

London 3 March 1846

MY DEAR SIR, Although I am too enfeebled from a severe illness to go into much detail, I continue my correspondence in the same confidence as heretofore.

I am afraid the state of the Oregon question is more critical. It is unfortunate I think that so much opposition should have been made to the notice recommended by the President, or that [a] move should have been attempted now while authorizing the notice, to recommend an adjustment upon an honorable basis. If the notice as recommended had been promptly authorized, it could have done no harm. The manner in which it has been treated on both sides in Congress only could make

[1] Of termination of the agreement with Great Britain respecting the joint occupation of Oregon.

[2] Louis McLane, of Maryland (1786-1857), who had been Secretary of the Treasury and of State under Jackson, was (for the second time) minister to Great Britain from June, 1845, to August, 1846.

its effect doubtful. Here it would not have been regarded as a hostile measure; and while at home it would have deprived those who appear to be bent on an ultra course of much aliment they will now have to get up an excitement in and out of Congress, it would have enabled our Government to have presented united Councils and an undivided front abroad. A year would remain, after notice, for negotiation, and even a longer period might be calculated upon; since if, at the end of the year, negotiations should be pending, unless one Government should commit some violent or offensive act, we would have been in no worse situation than in 1818. I think there is reason to apprehend that divided councils at home if they do not encourage more extravagant demands from this government will at least encourage delay, and lead to a waste of time which must be ultimately fatal. I yet hope that these consequences may be avoided.

I am afraid too that this Government has been encouraged by advices from the U. S. to believe that although the President has twice rejected proposals to arbitrate, yet, rather than lead to war, that mode of settlement will be ultimately adopted by our Government, in some form or other. The immediate effect of all this has been to suspend, for the present, any further proposition of compromise; and believing as I do that arbitration under any circumstances is utterly hopeless, I deeply lament that attempts should have been made to mislead this Gov. upon so vital a point.

I am sure that there is the best ground to apprehend now, that this Government will not be brought to propose or assent to a better partition than by a line on the 49th parallel to the strait of Fuca, thence down the middle of the Strait to the Pacific, with the right of her navigation of the Columbia, and some protection of the present agricultural settlements of British subjects north of the Columbia and south of the 49th parallel. It is probable that the navigation of the Columbia for 10 or 15 years might be acceptable, and I am quite sure that if it turn out that the river is not navigable at the intersection of the 49th parallel, the right of using it for any period would not be insisted upon.

If the article in the Times of the 3rd. Jan. (which I sent you) ever meant anything, there is certainly at present no intention

to renew or assent to Mr. Gallatin's proposition of 1826–7, and I have reason to know that this Government will, under no circumstances consent to negotiate for the free navigation of the St. Lawrence in connection with the Columbia. I have apprehensions that the President is absolutely committed in his message against the concession of the navigation of the Columbia; and if so and he extends his commitment to exclude the privilege even for a few years, the case may be regarded as well nigh hopeless.

I am ardently desirous of peace, if it can be honorably preserved, and am not unwilling to make the concessions indicated in my former letters; but it is not to be disputed that our cause has been weakened abroad by our divisions at home, by the public writers, especially in the North American Review and some of the newspapers, and by private letter writers depreciating and attempting to refute our claims, and holding out encouragements to believe that the Executive will be deserted, and what is called the War Party will ultimately find no countenance.

If there be a determination not to authorize the notice according to the President's recommendation, would it not be advisable to declare immediately that the Senate would not advise arbitration; and that unless within a year, or a brief period, partition upon a reasonable basis (defining it) should be agreed to, then notice should be given?

It is only to be expected that as long as there is a hope here (and I assure you disencouraged from very respectable quarters) that arbitration will be ultimately assented to, or that there will be a division between the Executive and a majority of the Senate, there will be no real desire to do any thing, and it may encourage demands which it is impossible we could agree to. I offer these suggestions to your own reflection; being very sure however, that having made up our minds for the sake of preserving peace to assent to a reasonable basis of partition, we will be most apt to effect even that by union and spirit. If ground be afforded to calculate upon our divisions we shall not only lose what we ought justly to have, but instead of preserving peace we will too surely lead to war.

I send you some newspapers containing Sir Robert Peel's

last peace speech; and you will see how the journal views the triumph which, upon the recent division of the house, has crowned his exertions. The success of the Measure in the Lords was very confidently anticipated, without a dissolution. There are to be sure many speculations as to the continuance of "a Ministry without a party" after it is all over; and many think the day is not distant when by a union between the "Protectionists" and the Whigs now supporting the present measure, it will be overthrown. I do not fully concur in this anticipation. Sir R. Peel is a statesman of too much ability and has too broad a foundation in public confidence to be easily overthrown. He has honors, the cordial support of the Crown, and will ever increase his strength by the advance of the popular principle. He may be temporarily embarrassed, but his ultimate triumph, like that of "free trade" I regard as certain. I am afraid I have already wearied you, especially as I am compelled by the condition of my health to write so carelessly, and in so desultory a manner.

I bring my letter to a close, therefore, with the assurance of my sincere esteem and regard.

LOUIS M^cLANE.

From Abbott Lawrence.[1] C. C.

Mar. 30, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR; I have two special friends who leave us this afternoon for Washington where they intend to pass a few days—M^r. William H. Prescott the historian and M^r. Charles Sumner of the legal profession. These gentlemen are both well known in the literary world, and as such I have felt that they should make your acquaintance. Whatever may be the differences between you and myself upon political questions, I trust we are both too liberal, to allow mere opinions upon National questions to sunder the ties of comity due to each other, on those with whom we are associated. I begin however, to think that we are coming nearer together upon the great questions that now agitate the Country, and I assure you with entire frankness that I know not the man in the

[1] The famous Boston capitalist and manufacturer.

United States, with whom I desire to have social converse more than with yourself. I have to ask the favor of you to call on Messrs Prescott and Sumner, with whose simplicity of manner and high intelligence, you cannot but be pleased. These gentlemen I beg to say have the highest opinion of your personal character and eminent abilities.

I pray you dear Sir to believe I remain Very
faithfully Your Obt Serv.
ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

P. S. I have almost threatened a visit to Washington for the purpose of conversing with you, upon topics of interest in the future.

From Edward Everett.[1]

Cambridge (Mass) 6 April 1846.

DEAR SIR, I received this morning a copy of your speech on the Oregon question,[2] which you were good enough to send me. I had already read it in the Intelligencer with extreme satisfaction. It is of itself nearly decisive of the great question of peace or war; certainly it is so, when taken in connection with more recent demonstrations. I assume, of course, that England will be willing to compromise on the basis of the 49 degree, which I have no doubt she will, if no insuperable difficulty arises in reference to the Navigation of the Columbia River. As this river is certainly not navigable to the Sea from any place north of the forty ninth degree, I am in hopes no serious difficulty will arise on this point; because if I recollect aright Mr. Gallatin in 1826, only offered the navigation of the Columbia, in case it was navigable from above that degree.—As the great objection alleged by England of late years to accepting the 49th degree has been that they could not now accept what they had three times before declined, they may possibly,—to save the point of honor,—insist on reserving the navigation of the Columbia "if navigable"; and the President has so committed himself on this

[1] Edward Everett, who had been minister to Great Britain from 1841 to 1845, became president of Harvard College in 1846.

[2] Works, IV, 258-290.

point, that he may not be able to make this hypothetical concession, although certain that the river is not navigable. But as this on both sides is mere punctilio, it may be hoped there will be common sense enough on the part of the two governments to get over it.

Believing that you have really rendered an inestimable service to the Country by your course on this question, I wish you could see your way clear, to some equitable compromise between the tariff and the anti-tariff parties. If it is possible to be effected, it can only be done by you. Next to peace abroad, the Country wants quiet on this subject; and the person who should give us that blessing would be a public benefactor of the highest order.

I hope you will excuse the freedom of these remarks. I am wholly withdrawn from politics, especially party politics; and look only to the public interest: In reference to which,—if I know myself,—I desire the prosperity of the South, as much as of the North.

I remain, Dear Sir, with great regard, faithfully Yours,

EDWARD EVERETT.

From Louis McLane. C. C.

London May 18, 1846

MY DEAR SIR, In the same confidence with which I have hitherto written, I send you a short letter by the present Steamer. I received my despatches notice and all, on the 15th inst. but as I had previously made an arrangement with Lord Aberdeen for reopening the negotiation by new instructions to Mr P.[1] by this steamer and as my instructions required me to ascertain before presenting the notice, "Her Majestys pleasure as to the mode of delivering it", it was impossible to act under the case immediately. Accordingly a new proposition for the partition for the Oregon will go to Mr. Packenham to-morrow; but it will not be exactly such, I lament to say, as to afford me any great hope that it will be accepted by the P. or the Senate. It will propose the 49th parallel to strait of Fuca and thence to the sea giving all Vancouver's

[1] Mr. Pakenham.

Island to G. B. It will also confirm to British subjects occupying land between the Columbia and the 49th all the land, forts and stations of which they are in the actual occupation, leaving jurisdiction to U. S; and it will claim the perpetual right of freely navigating the Columbia by the Hudson's Bay Company. I cannot err in supposing that the belief is entertained here that the Senate will accept this proposition, and that the P. will not take the responsibility of rejecting it without consulting the Senate! It is evident that since the recent public discussion in the Senate the expectations here have risen, and that better terms could I believe have been had before. This proposition is encouraged by the reliance I have already hinted at upon the Senate; by a calculation that the "peace party" as it is called will do as much to preserve peace as the "war party" would to make war; by calculation founded upon our difficulties with Mexico and upon the sympathy and support of France and other European Nations; and last, and I fear not least, an expectation that the present ministry may very soon quit office, and a desire to appear while in to have maintained a strong ground in the negotiation with us, may not be without its influence.

I am confident, however, that the offer is not made as an *ultimatum*, and that it is not intended as such. Indeed Lord A. was as explicit as he could be upon *such a point* in *such a crisis*. I believe, moreover, that if he were sure that the Senate would require a modification as to the navigation of the Columbia by limiting it to a period of years, and that were the only point it would be conceded here. Their objection I rather think is to offering it with the belief that the present offer will be unobjectionable to the Senate without it. They will accept it I think if offered, i. e. if it come before a change of ministry. I have far less confidence in their disposition to assent to any modification of the reservation in favor of their subjects occupying lands North of the Columbia and South of the 49th. The protection of them they regard as the real and substantial point of honor; and yet the present proposition concedes to us substantially very little more than the British proposition in 1826–7—excepting the lands *unoccupied* north of [the] Columbia and south of 49, and the Jurisdiction of both banks of the Columbia and of the country north of the river

and south of 49°! I should not have despaired of a better offer, if it had been distinctly understood that better would have been demanded by joint and united councils at home. I have given no encouragement to the proposition as presented in any form, not even that the P will submit it to the Senate for their advice. Though I think after the publicity already given to the subject, the Senate ought, according to the early practice to be consulted at every step of the negotiation; and then if they are united and firm he may get better terms not otherwise.

Believe me to be My dear sir, Mo truly Yrs

L. McLane

From James Gregorie.

Charleston 23d May 1846.

My Dear Sir In one of the interviews I had the honour of holding with you, two years ago, and which are always rendered so delightful by you, I stated the existence of a combination of persons in the western country for the purpose of conquering Mexico, the object of which it appeared to me was plunder alone.

This information becomes of importance now as furnishing a key to the warlike measures of the party who have urged us into collision with that country. If I am correct in believing that this conspiracy is wide spread as the Southwest itself; it will be found difficult beyond measure to make peace with a country in so distracted and helpless a state, if invasion is resorted to, and western volunteers compose the army. If plunder was the object held out, to tempt the thoughtless, the rash and the abandoned to put their seals to such a bond, without knowing who was to be their leaders; what disgraceful consequences may result to our National character, now that war is actually going on and these very volunteers are selected by the government and crowding to the scene of action?

I commit the paper to your confidential keeping, knowing that it can only be used by you for the benefit of the country. A word on the way it came into my hands. Four of my

family emigrated to the state of Mississippi in 1835 and 36. Of these two died from diseases of the climate, a third returned to yield up his life on a bed of languishing at home; at his side I attended thirty days. Towards the close of this scene he stated to me that I should find with his papers, the inclosed agreement. He assured me it had been extensively signed by many of his acquaintance and all through the West—none of them knew who were at the head of the band, or with whom it had commenced. The solemnity of the occasion precluded the suspicion of exaggeration, and the confidence placed in me arose from painful misgivings of the correctness of his conduct.

I am about to publish a few papers on a subject deeply interesting to Carolina and the South. I have long been of opinion, that with due precaution health may be kept *on our low Country plantations* equal to that of the Negroes, for all useful purposes. Of course equally well throughout the middle country also. When they appear I beg your candid opinion of them in a few lines; if you can spare a moment of your precious time—time not only precious to Carolina and the Union, but to the world.

Your decided conduct on the war vote, has met the approbation of every one, more un[an]imously here, than anything I ever knew. Go on My Dear Sir acting on your own ripe judgement and be assured that your example will influence every correct mind, high and low, at home and abroad, but especially among the Ministry and influential men in England. But I cease, being most faithfully

Your devoted Constituent

JAMES GREGORIE.

[*Enclosure.*] I A. B. being apprised of the project (now on foot) of certain individuals to make the conquest of Mexico, and approving the same, do solemnly enlist myself a soldier in said project or cause; and I do solemnly swear that I will not disclose the existence of said project or cause to any human being; nor will I disclose the name of the individual who now administers to me the oath I am taking upon myself; and I do further swear that I will use all proper exertions to enlist in said cause every man of my acquaintance, who I may think will make a good soldier, and none other; and that when I

succeed in procuring a man, I will report him to any agent of the originators of said project, that I may know of, to be qualified, unless I myself should be an agent; and that in that case I will administer this oath to him myself and report his name, residence, and Post office to the Agent, who now administers this oath to me: and I do further swear that I will ever hold myself in readiness, and will promptly obey the summons of the originators, or their agents, to repair to any place, at the time appointed in said summons, unless my views of life should undergo a change before receiving a summons as aforesaid; and I do further swear that I will immediately, upon my rendevouzing at the place that shall be appointed, place myself under the command of him who may have been chosen commander in chief by those who have originated said project; and I do further swear that I will never abandon him, without his permission, until the said project is carried into full effect, and consummated.

So help me God.

From James Gadsden. C. C.

Charleston S C July 9 1846

My Dear Sir I was in hopes of receiving a copy of your Report[1] in advance—but the Mercury has it and has commenced this morning the publication. I am compelled to leave the City tomorrow and fear I shall be denied the pleasure of perusing the document before I return. If I had one to carry with me I could review its grounds in the Cars.

The passage of the Tariff has pleased, but not satisfied us. Perhaps it was the best terms which could at this crisis be got—and the doing away with the minimums, and the ad valorum duty is a point gained. The Valuation is ambiguous. Whether on the *foreign* or *home* we cannot understand. The Bill may be construed either way. The Pennsylvanians really seem to control you. If Iron and Coal is to enable them to tax at will the whole of the U.'S. it is as well that we seperate from our Pennsylvania false democracy.

If the 30 per ct is placed on the home valuation of Iron

[1] Report on the Memphis Memorial, June 26, 1846, Works, V, 246-293. The memorial of the Memphis convention (ibid., 293-311) was laid before the Senate by a committee of which Gadsden was chairman.

the duty will not vary much from the percents specific paid. There really ought to be something done for Rail Iron and I rely on your exertions to attain some modifications of the duty on these Roads commenced under the faith of Free duties. Do exert yourself on this and on our Road of Connection with North Carolina. I have written to Johnson but you can certainly remove better than I can his Constitutional Scruples. I feel very desirous of finishing the Road to *Camden* and from Charleston to Wilmington before I retire from Rail Road operations, which is certainly consuming me very fast.

What will be the fate of [the] Tariff in Senate? and what is your construction of the basis of valuation?

Yours

JAMES GADSDEN

From Abbott Lawrence. C. C.

Private and Confidential

Boston July 14th 1846.

MY DEAR SIR, I well know your position in regard to the Tariff Bill now before the Senate, and write to you impressed with the idea that you desire to put at rest a question that has so long divided the Country. I have examined the bill as it passed the House of Rep' with care, and assure you if it should become a Law, that the people will not sit down quietly under its operation. As a financial measure it will not answer the expectations or purposes of the Government, and as a measure adapted to the present condition of our people, you may be quite certain that many, and great interests will suffer to an extent that will produce discontent and severe embarrassment and loss. Now there are several gentlemen in the Senate who have advocated *advalorem duties*, without *discrimination*, but would avoid doing anything that should produce a violent revulsion in the business of the Country, and yet desire to maintain themselves with their party. To those I would ask the favor of an examination of this bill as a financial measure, and upon that ground it may be postponed, till we are in a better condition to reduce the revenue. There are most glaring absurdities in the bill, which should be corrected. It appears to me that a bill of so much consequence to the

Country should be *considered* and *matured* by practical men, and that there should be an approach to harmony in its provisions.

I am aware of your position before the Country upon this and other great questions of National policy, and I am not unmindful of the future. In my humble judgement, the present is not the time to try an experiment on the revenues of the Country, and that two thirds of the people of the United States would be glad to see this bill defeated in the Senate. We are quite ready at a proper time to meet this question in a spirit of compromise, and settle it upon such a basis, as will insure repose for ten years. On your voice I think the fate of this bill depends. I have only to ask you to look at it in all its phases, and if you agree with me, that the Revenue will be reduced from 5 to 8 millions, and that the bill is very imperfect in its character, and that the question is to be made again a Presidential question, that you may agree in the policy at least of postponing the subject. There appears to be a particular hostility to the manufactures of Cotton. Why should Cotton goods be admitted at less duty than Woollens. Iron and Coal too, are to enjoy a duty of 30 per cent. with a heavy freight to be charged, while manufactured Cottons with less than ½ per cent freight are to come in at 25 per cent.

Coarse wool is charged with a duty of 30 per cent while it is admitted free of duty in Great Britain, and their blankets brought here with a duty of 20 per cent. Pig copper 5 per cent, and sheathing copper free, and many, many other features of the bill of the same character. Such a bill cannot stand, and I have taken the freedom to write to you as I would speak to you upon the subject. If 28 millions is obtained from this bill annually, it is quite certain that the Country will be unable to pay for the importations. If yourself and others however are resolved on trying an experiment I can only say we must take our chance with you in maintaining ourselves as well as we can. I think *you* have another opportunity to make yourself a National man, as you have done in the settlement of Oregon.

I remain Dear Sir

Very truly your friend and Obt Ser.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

From James Hamilton. C. C.

Savannah Geo Augt 12th 1846.

Last evenings mail My Dear Sir, brought me your kind favor of the 8th inst, written on the ev'e of your departure from Washington.

That our friends are in high spirits I can readily conceive, particularly those, who take as deep an interest as I do in your fame and future advancement, for you never occupied so proud a position as you do at present, whether you are destined to wear the purple or not.

But I must tell you that of the Democracy as a party, I think in the utmost peril. They have tendered so many issues during the late Session of Congress, that nothing can possibly prevent the Whigs from electing their Man, but the possible Union of the independent Men of all parties, constituting, if left to themselves, the great body of the people, *on you*, because on some of these trying Questions, you occupy middle ground.

With the tariff, two Veto Messages, Sub Treasury and the Mexican War, (with its enormous expences), wantonly provoked as *it is charged*, by the Democracy, we have too much weight to carry. The Sub Treasury alone killed Van Buren in 1840. But how vastly has Polk complicated the difficulties of his party?

I begin to think such are the follies and perverseness of Men that hereafter no party will remain in power, more than four Years. Ignorance under our Government is gradually gaining on knowledge, and profligacy on moral worth, until I believe we shall settle down into one of the most corrupt and disgusting Anarchies that ever disgraced the civilized World, of which Felix Connell and Sam Houston, may be regarded as the personal Exponents. These are gloomy portents, but I believe they will prove true, for the influence of virtue and Genius, in our Democracy, seems daily to be losing its authority.

I should have some hope, indeed of the Country if it had the intelligence and discrimination to place you at the head of Affairs. And in spite of these omens, I believe our prospect of consummating this blessing, is far more auspicious than

ever, if we avail ourselves of the favorable conjunction which the difficulties of the Country, in the next two years are likely to present. But in the long run I fear we must inscribe on the White House this *label* not *libel*, (except on the ground the greater the truth the great the libel) *The Temple of Demagogism inscribed to the Genius of Mediocrity dulness Ignorance and Deceit.*

I shall stop for a day or two at Washington on my way to New York next week, not to seek an office, but to convince Polk, that I am [a] *free spoken Man*, at least as far as I can be so, within the verge of civility and that due respect, which belongs to his high station. If he does not change the mode of carrying on the Mexican War which in fact is more properly speaking a War against the Treasury of the U. S., waged *by ourselves*, his administration in public confidence will not live to see the commencement of the next Session of Congress.

I need not say that in going North I shall exchange the sign and token of confraternity with your friends where ever I meet them and inculcate the Watchwords of Hope Union and energy. I now use no reserve, and I am happy to say, that I meet wherever I go with few Men at the South, of either party, who do not admit, when pushed home, that in Genius experience and virtue you are better qualified than any Man in the United States for the Helm. God grant us, I say a victory—out of which, a new Lease for the Government may be constructed.

If you should have any suggestions to make, pray drop me a line directed to Washington, where I shall be there probably on the 22d and remain until the 25th inst.

With my best respects to your Lady I remain My Dear Sir
Ever with esteem Most faithfully and resply
You friend and obt. Servt.
J. HAMILTON.

P. S. I owe Mr. Clemson a long Letter on some mining operations in Coal on the Banks of the Big Warrior near Tuscaloosa, where he thinks we might spring a *principality*,—I mean to have it examined this Winter, if I can find a suitable Agent.

What a blessed conjuncture of circumstances does the modi-

fication of the respective tariffs of G. B. and this Country present occurring as they do similtaneously as the omen of Peace and a benefecent intercourse between two such great nations.

The admission of Maize duty free into England is calculated to confer I believe in the end an incalculable blessing on both Countries. It will give to the laboring poor of G. B. a cheap and nutritious food and to the South probably a source for diverting a portion of our Labor from the cultivation of Cotton. One of the objects of my visit to the North is to make myself thoroughly acquainted with the process of kiln drying corn preparatory to its being ground and bolted into Meal. I think of making an experimental shipment next Winter to Liverpool from the Chattahoochee—where I shall harvest an excess of Corn over and above my consumption of at least 10,000 Bushels altho I run 70 Ploughs and have 80 Mules and horses. If I can nett 60 cents pr bushel for Meal in Liverpool I can make $2 by Corn where I make $1. by Cotton at 9 Cents pr. H.—

From James Hamilton. C. C.

Savannah Geo. Oct. 12th 1846.

My Dear Sir. A few moments leisure now, enables me to fulfil my promise in writing you a line from this place.

During my stay in New York I had frequent conferences with your friends there, and the conclusion at which I arrived was, that your latent strength in the confidence and esteem of the intelligent Men of all parties, who were exempt from the taint of office holding and office seeking, and from the faction of party was far greater than that of any one of the other Candidates for the Presidency.

With the regular hacks of Party, and those who are the Creatures and Agents of its organisation, you are the weakest of all of them, from considerations highly honorable to yourself. There is in the City of New York a standing Committee of your friends, called the Calhoun Committee, who are prepared to move the moment your Southern friends deem it politick to do so, either by a public Meeting or by an address to the public, which ever may be deemed most politick,

Whilst these highly intelligent and worthy persons entertain no hope of carrying the vote of the S^t of New York for you, they cherish the belief that they may influence other sections of the Union, and possibly prepare public opinion for your receiving the Vote of a majority of States in the House of Representatives, where if you hold out and refuse to go into convention, it is deemed *certain* that the election must go.

They likewise informed me that your friends had been in a state of suspense, as to their action, from the uncertainty whether you would be a Candidate or whether if you were, your Southern Supporters would not as they had done frequently before, strike your Flag,—at the last Moment.

I assured them 1st That under no circumstances would you go into Caucus or Convention with the delegated power to others of disposing of your claims or pretensions. If any body of Men calling themselves a Congressional Caucus or National Convention thought proper to support you, it was well, but it would be without a pledge, or commitment on your part, either preliminary to the election, or subsequent to it.

2dly That they might be assured that your Southern friends would make you a Candidate, and that we would not lower your Flag; That it should be kept flying if but S^o Carolina rallied round it.

This assurance created great confidence and enthusiasm, and the question now is when we had better commence moving and how.

We want a great central Press in the City of New York, which we could afterwards transfer to Washington in the event of your election as the Organ of your Administration. There are many opulent Whigs who are free Traders in the City of New York, who I understand favor your support, who might be willing to subscribe liberally, to an able and enlightened Journal devoted to the Cause of free Trade, and to our views in relation to the administration of the Affairs of the Country.

For example, I understand that M^r. Dudley Selden[1] hitherto a Warm Supporter of M^r. Clay's, has now a strong tendency to sustain your claims to the Presidency. He has recently

[1] Whig candidate for mayor of New York in 1845.

inherited a large Sugar Es^t. in the Island of Cuba, which may have produced a sensible change in his views in regard to the tariff. He proposed a scheme for a public press to a friend of mine, on a scale of security usefulness and respectability which I considered truly admirable, and which we must endeavor to carry out.

It is to raise by a joint stock Company in shares of $100 a hundred thousand Dollars, that after buying all the fixtures necessary to such a press, and six months material in advance, to have the residue vested in a secure and productive stock, the interests of which was to be held as a reserve fund, to meet any deficiency in the subscriptions and advertising Lists necessary to defray the expences of the paper. If the Man who should be the exponent of the principles [of] this paper should be elected to the Presidency then if deemed necessary the Press should be transferred to Washington, as the Government Journal. In fact, that we should have an independent press, that should dare on all Questions to speak out and speak the truth.

The plan in regard to the Stock is very much on the Plan of the London Times and I believe after doing an infinity of good, in the end, ought to be a six per Cent Stock to the shareholders. I think we ought to call it the North American Times, and that it should have the Banner of Free Trade at its Masthead. None but a Man of finished Talents and the highest character ought to be the Editor in Chief, whilst auxiliary Editors in the different departments of Literature and politicks ought to be associated with him. Without coming out openly in the first instance in your support this should seem subsequently as the natural result of events flowing from a conformity between your principles, and those advocated by the Press itself. I shall write M^r. Selden fully on this subject, and during the next session of Congress, we must move in good earnest to accomplish this great object.

Whilst in Washington I had a long conversation with the President, and found no difficulty in convincing him of the peril in which the Democracy was placed, from the number of issues which had been tendered by his administration, and more especially from the hazards of the Mexican War. I told him the existence of his administration depended on the most

perfect Union of the party in its support, and that we must be aware of what was obvious to every one else, that our Flank of the Democracy headed by yourself, comprised a large proportion of its Talent. That from the course of the distribution of his offices and patronages I had entertained some doubt whether he cherished friendly feelings towards yourself. That if he did not, I wished very frankly to know it. He assured me, that the reverse was precisely the case. That his feelings towards you were cordial and kind. That he cherished for your character the most unbounded respect, and for your talents the highest admiration. That if he had thrown his patronage in other Quarters, it was because he knew we looked more to the principles of his administration, than to its faculty of dispensing bounties. He then begged me to make you these assurances. And went on to remark that your course on the War Bill and Notice had produced in his mind not the slightest feeling of unkindness, that he regretted it, only, as the possible occasion of impairing your just influence with the party. The warmth of his manner induced me really to believe that he was sincere. Whatever may be your own belief, it accords with weighty considerations of policy, that you should give him, apparently credit for good faith, and where you believe his administration to be right, to give it a cordial effective support, for I think the chances are quite even that if no rupture takes place between you, that you will receive the support as against Wright of a majority of his Cabinet to wit, of Walker Mason and Marcy, together with the adhesion of the President and Vice President when cured of some delusions in reference to themselves, which time will be very apt to effect. That Buchanan will form a coalition with Wright I think certain. It doubtless constituted the main object of his recent visit to the North. The Oregon Negotiation has killed him, and, if he exhibits any inconvenient symptoms of vitality McLane of Delaware (who by the way with his Talented Son is among your warmest friends,) is prepared to give him the finishing blow.

Do not therefore break with the administration, give them a liberal and cordial support, where you can, for if they break down, either by our instrumentality or without it, it can only inure to the benefit of the Whigs who, in a united Mass will

run that Candidate whom they deem the strongest whether it be Clay, Crittenden, M^c^Lean or Gen. Taylor, on whom they will rally on in the last resort rather than lose the victory. You see therefore [the] vast importance of Union and as little wavering in our ranks as possible. Even if you have the administration on the hip, let go your grasp, if it is to bring in the federal brood of abominations under the incubation of Whiggery.

I stopped in Richmond on my way on where I saw five or six of our leading friends among the most prominent of them, Mes^srs^. Seddon and Scott, whilst they expressed the most unhesitating belief that you were the strongest among the Democratic Candidates named in Virginia yet they doubted whether in the face of the organization of party thro a convention, you could get the vote of the S^t^.—that is if you ran against the regular nomination, at least this was M^r^. Seddon's opinion. M^r^. Scott thought that you would take the State, with or without a nomination. Whether they can break up the usages of party, by refusing to go into Caucus, with the residue of the Democracy to nominate a Senator they will test in the effort to elect Mr. Hunter, whom they have resolved to run totally irrespective of such nomination.

Your friends in Richmond are animated and zealous, and are quite willing to commence active operations the moment your friends in Charleston think it expedient to move.

I had hoped on my arrival in Charleston, to have obtained a meeting of these friends, but in consequence of the absence of Elmore and Boyce, and some more of our Leaders, I was compelled to postpone it. I shall return on the 18th with the hope but not with any confident expectation of meeting Elmore who[se] frequent absences from Charleston is much to be regretted, where he has such a just and useful influence. It is greatly to be lamented that the two Men at the South calculated to serve you most (Elmore and myself) should be fettered by comprehensive engagements and pecuniary embarrassments which palsy our movements. I shall however go on the 18th and hope to obtain an understanding with our friends even if he is absent. I would like to have your views at your earliest convenience on the following points.

1st Are public movements now to be desired in your behalf?

Would they not excite the concentrated hostility of the friends of all your opponents?

2d Shall those movements be made before or after the Meeting or adjournment of Congress? Shall we in the mean time confine our operations to effecting private organisations, at different influential points in the Union? In reference to these last arrangements, would it be judicious for the Calhoun Committee to come out with an elaborate address, presenting as strongly as they can your claims to the favorable regards of the people? Or would you prefer their writing you a Letter and asking you to become a Candidate, which would present an auspicious occasion for your writing the address of which you spoke in one of your Letters on the public affairs of the Country? Or would it be best to postpone until the adjournment of Congress this correspondence when we shall know what is to be the issue of the Mexican War? These are grave matters which you must assist us to decide.

As I fear I shall have left Charleston before your answer can possibly reach that place, be so kind as to direct it to this City, to which I shall return and leave for the Bend on the 23 or 24 inst. I will remain at the Oswichee Bend until the 25 Nov. when I shall leave for Texas, via New Orleans. Whilst there if the Legislature of Louisianna is in session I shall endeavor to compass your nomination. Two thirds of the Legislature were in your favor at the last session, in spite of the Sugar Duty. It will be necessary to see what changes are to be effected or if any have been effected under the New Constitution.

As soon as Peace between Mexico and the U. S. is concluded I shall repair to Washington and hold on *de die* and *en diem*, until some thing definitive shall be concluded in reference to the Texian Debt, which will afford me constant opportunities of intimate communication and intercourse with you.

I regret I cannot take a seat in Congress, which my old friends in Charleston tendered me on my passing thro the other day. But circumstances forbid it, even if I could have surmounted an insuperable repugnance I should have felt, to unhorsing my friend Holmes,[1] to whom the representation of Charleston is an idolized hobby.

[1] Isaac E. Holmes, M. C. from Charleston from 1839 to 1851.

We have now My Dear Sir however secretly, fairly opened the Campaign. The conduct of the War you must mainly leave to your friends, beyond the fact of standing firm and not permitting the weakest of them to lower your Flag. If there is any force in public principles of acknowledged authority, if there is any moral sense in the people for unimpeachable integrity of character any judgment in favor of an accurate and profound knowledge of our Government and its administration, any sympathy with a zealous and uncompromising Patriotism, any taste for Genius and its accomplishments, we must triumph. At least there is enough in all these to make your friends proud of supporting such a Man.

Ever sincerely and faithfully yours

J. HAMILTON.

From Ellwood Fisher.[1] C. C.

Cincinnati 12 mo 2, 1846.

MY DEAR FRIEND I received thy favor of 10th Ult. two days since on returning from a visit to Indiana and Kentucky.

The War is no longer popular in those states or in this. The Whig papers are assailing it more and more—the Democrat make a feeble and spiritless defence; whilst all intelligent men of the party regard it as a blunder which threatens the party ruin. The administration is almost unanimously deserted. The army also is perhaps still more hostile to a continuance of hostilities if we can judge from the report of returning volunteers. Majr Johnson who recently resigned and came home, after serving in the battle of Monterey as an aid says that the army is decidedly averse to the annexation of either Mexican territory or people to ours. All regard the attempt to conquer Mexico hopeless and all would prefer being at home. Genl Taylor told him at parting that he was sick of the war. Johnson who is one of our friends and a man of talent went over to Pt Isabel with Genl Quitman and says that the General expressed the deepest regret on the voyage thither that thee had not been heard at length before the declaration. As he thinks that the War thereby might have been averted, and

[1] Author of a lecture on the North and the South, printed in 1849.

ought to have been. Still there is a very cowardly disposition here to evade the responsibility of an effort for peace. Many of the Democrats who would delight in such a result, would be quite ready to sacrifice those by whom it was accomplished to the demigogues whose love of fighting is displayed exclusively in declamation. Even the Whigs would aim to avail themselves of any discontent that might result from the conclusion of the War, as they are claiming the benefit of all that proceeds from its prosecution. I am however of the opinion that opposition to the War must prevail, as the moment its burdens are felt they will outweigh the contingent advantages of acquiring California and New Mexico, the utmost that can be acquired, and probably much more than can be obtained or held without great incidental expense.

There is among the Democrats of the West a stronger disposition to support the proviso of Wilmot than I expected to find, although as thee is aware, I have long insisted that the principles of the Abolitionists were making more progress than was suspected and were rapidly approaching to ascendancy in the free states. I have therefore been in favor of the policy of meeting the issue at once, and developing the whole heresy, rather than of giving it time and opportunity to make its way gradually and unresisted. For I have been satisfied that if the contest of the Missouri question were again openly made, the result would be the same. If the effort is persisted in of introducing the question into the Mexican War it seems to me that it will be a blunder on the part of those who are in favour of that course. For inasmuch as the consequences must be to detach the South from the War all the advocates of the War who are sincere would resist such an interference, and thus the War party proper as well as the South would be against the proviso. If on the other hand the proviso could pass both houses, it must put an immediate end to the War, for the South being detached, there would not be strength enough left in favour of it elsewhere, the Abolitionists themselves not being ready to insist on the continuance of the war for the mere purpose of acquiring territory, even for non slaveholding states. And in either case the principle of Wilmots proviso must acquire odium, without any chance of success.

But ought not the South now to take the initiative in favour of peace? If she did Abolitionism would be utterly deprived of the pretence that this is a war of conquest waged for southern aggrandizement, a pretence which groundless as it is, makes a conspicuous figure in the papers of that party and even in those of the Whigs. And if the War could be concluded on terms at all reconcilable with public opinion, through Southern influence it would disarm the Whigs of the best weapon they wield against us, that of war expenditure. I confess however I see nothing in the condition or prospects of Mexico to warrant the expectation that she will make any concession. And that being the case I am satisfied that the most practicable and tenable ground is the one thee advised at the close of last session, viz. the mere occupation and defence of the northern unsettled provinces until Mexico is ready to treat, which would give to the Northern and Southern sections about an equal accession of territory. As for the idea recently suggested that the Administration will call for 40 millions in the message and a large number of troops it is too extravagant even for the folly of that concern, and too monstrous to be supported even by the madness of the people.

The Navigation and Land bills will be urgent and critical measures at the approaching session. Steam boat disasters have been of alarming frequency lately, the losses being almost of daily occurrence. I think that as the Presidents veto stands in the way of a Western and northern combination a union with the South on that subject is entirely practicable, and the movement cannot be made too soon. I perceive that the New York Democracy is giving way to the agrarian demand for the donations of public domain to the poor. And surprizing as it may seem and derogatory to the sagacity of the west, the movement meets with great favour here. The time therefore has fully arrived for land graduation.

The defeat of Wright[1] in New York has confounded and disheartened his friends here: although it has not perhaps dispelled all their hopes of his nomination. It has however completely bewildered the spoilsmen, who now confine themselves chiefly to a defence of the caucus system through which they hope to succeed once more. There is nevertheless a pre-

[1] Silas Wright, defeated as candidate for governor.

valent misgiving among them that a caucus will not be again available.

I availed myself of the occasion to write an article of some length for the paper here, giving an account of the leading incidents of thy political life and discussing briefly the questions on which the greatest efforts have been made to create a popular prejudice. I intend to follow it with a direct attack on the Caucus system in a short time.

I expect to be in Washington in about a fortnight, and shall be happy to render any aid however little may be in my power, in giving a proper direction to opinion.

Give my regards cordially to thy family

Very devotedly thy friend

ELLWOOD FISHER.

From Francis W. Pickens.[1] C. C.

Edgewood 13 Decm^r 1846

MY DEAR SIR After I returned from selling some cotton in Hamburg I heard you had passed on down by M^r. Clemson's place. I am sorry you did not come by. I would have answered your last only that I was on the River and did not receive it for some time after it was written and until near the time when you would be going on to Washington.

As the time is now past when those, who thought proper to prejudice you and yours agst me, have done all they could do and have effected their purposes, I now take the opportunity to say that they gave the most extravagant, exaggerated and false account of every thing I said and did at the public meeting held Saleday in June last at Edgefield.

The truth is that at the first meeting held the Saturday week before Saleday I refused to attend upon the ground that I would not give any aid to any thing that might appear to conflict at that time with your position. And at the meeting of the committee afterwards that was then appointed I expressly said in advance that nothing must be suggested calculated to reflect on your course. I was appointed Chairman of the Committee. M^r. Wardlaw, N. L. Griffin, M^r. W. Brooks, Col.

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[1] See Calhoun's letters in Part I, *supra*, pp. 696, 698, 705, 708.

P. Brooks and Wm. C. Moraque were all present and will recollect this fact. We could *hear nothing* authentic as to your course and the reasons from Washington. You *did not write a word* to me or to any one that we heard of.

The public meeting for Saleday in June was called and for several days previous I had been very sick, and on that day I was very unwell, more so than I had been for ten years, and had in the morning written in to say I would not attend. Mr. Brooks and Mr. Griffin both wrote to me and insisted that I should go in if merely to be present and introduce the resolutions (which made not the slightest reflection on any human being) I did so in great pain and suffering. The whole object of the meeting was to get up a war feeling and procure volunteers to sustain the Government. And what remarks I made were made entirely with this view. Immediately after I was done I was very sick—so much so that the Dr. had to give me laudnum. Col. Banskett was speaking and I left in my carriage without dreaming there was to be any opposition. After I left Col. Wigfall introduced the resolutions in relation to yourself and they were laid on the table by an almost unanimous vote as I understood. I *was not there* and never heard of what was done or said in reference to yourself until the next day, and yet I have been *made responsible for all that was said and done.*

Mr. Wardlaw was chairman of the meeting, and he and his immediate friends were pleased with any thing that might injure me. I said the next day to those gentlemen who called to see me, that a *full and true* statement of the whole proceedings ought to be given. It was said that Mr. Wardlaw Chairman and Wigfall had come to an understanding that the rejected resolutions should not be published &c. I said then it was wrong and false impressions would be made. But after it was done, and the suppressed resolutions were informally published in a Hamburg paper with comments, I waited for Wardlaw to give a true account as chairman. My relations to him were such that I could say nothing to him about it. The papers in this district being only weekly, in the mean time every sort of comment and rumor got out and Wardlaw made no statement. I then saw the object and how the matter was to be used. It was at the time privately

known here to those actively engaged in it that Mr. *Mc Duffie* would *resign* his *seat*. After all these occurrences I was too proud to come out and appear to explain with a view to ward off your powerful name and influence which had been, in the mean time, extensively invoked agst. me by letters as well as newspaper comments. It was true that I had differed widely with you on the course you thought proper to pursue on the Mexican war bill &c, and had regreted that course more on your own account and proper influence than anything else, and this was all. But I was awkwardly situated. It may be a weakness, but I have ever despised to appear to court any man, and as for seeking popular favour under the wing of any man living I scorn to do it. And nothing but strict Justice and Truth induce me now to say any thing of the past. Circumstances have now *transpired and been fully developed* which enable me to do so and preserve every manly sentiment which it has been my pride to cherish.

What proves that, the whole object was to effect local purposes, is that Col. Elmore two weeks before the meeting at Edgefield in June, at a meeting in Columbia uttered precisely the same sentiments that I did, and advocated exactly the same resolutions in substance, and yet not a word of complaint has been suggested agst. him for his course. I have given you this full statement of what I did and the circumstances attending it freely and candidly, and any thing to the contrary is false and was made for political effect by *anonymous scribblers*.

I have served a portion of the people of So. Carolina in some capacity or other for the last fifteen years, and I have never yet approached any man or set of men to seek favour or office. In the many trying and exciting scenes through which I have passed, as God is my Judge! I have never, for one moment, felt a single emotion or aspiration seperate from the honor and the interests of South Carolina.

I could have received the Mission to Austria from Van Buren; and you recollect in the Summer of 1843, at your house, when Mr. Upshur Secty. of State wrote you on the subject of presenting some friend of yours for the Mission to France, you urged me to allow you to present my name and I refused it. And when Mr. Polk offered me the Mission to England I can proudly say that I am the *only man* who ever

refused such an office expressly upon the avowed ground that "I could not accept it consistently with the feelings of allegiance I bear my own State." At that time the Tariff was not adjusted and I would not have taken any office from the Federal Government.

I have *been by you* when you *needed friends*, and when to *stand by you* was *no gain* to any man. You have received more flattery from others, but in our past intercourse I have nothing to regret.

As I never expect to have any concern in public affairs again I felt it due to you as well as to myself that I should say what I have in relation to this matter, and to let you know, that however seperated our spheres may be hereafter, yet you *shall*, as you have *ever* done, command my highest regard and admiration.

Very truly,

F. W. PICKENS.

From Wilson Lumpkin. C. C.

Athens Jany. 6th. 1847.

MY DEAR SIR I thank you for your favor of the 29th ult. The mode suggested by you for the further prosecution of the War is the one which had not only occurred to me previous to the reception of your letter, but I have frequently suggested it to others, and I have never conversed with an intelligent man on the subject, that did not concur on the subject. The war would then be defensive on our part, and our Citizens generally would be better reconciled to its long continuance. It really does appear to me, notwithstanding our signal success so far, that we have really not yet advanced the first step towards *subduing* the Mexican people—but the reverse, they are stronger and more determined than ever. The way we have so far prosecuted the war must be changed, or it will be interminable. I have seen enough of the course of such men as Wilmot of Penn. Gordon of New York and various others on the floor of Congress, to satisfy me, that both political parties in the non-Slave-holding States, are firmly and fully united and resolved to prohibit the introduc-

tion of any more slave States into the Union, formed of Territory which may be acquired from Mexico. It is true I have indulged some hope, that in the event of acquiring Territory, we might be able to form something like a reasonable compromise on the subject. But I begin to doubt now, that the time is rapidly approaching, when the great struggle between the slave and non-slave-holding States must come up on an issue which will shake our glorious confederacy to its very Center. My old friend, I love the Union. But I am ready to resist unto death, rather than to submit to the schemes, plans and policy of the Abolitionists and their friends and supporters throughout the non slaveholding States.

Ardently as I love the Union, I consider it Valueless, when it is used for my oppression and destruction.

From this time forward, we may expect the Slave question to be the great and vital one, which will over-ride every other question. Our divisions will be sectional. The names of Whig and Democrat will lose their charms. My greatest apprehension is, that the South may not be as united in the day and hour of trial as her Enemy. I fear the lust for power and place may have its influence on many of our own people. And that portion of the southern population who own no slaves generally feel very different on the subject, from the slave holder.

Nothing can preserve our rights in the approaching struggle but Union in the present Congress amongst Southern men, (or perhaps I should say, Union in the next Congress). The South united can face a frowning world. Work to the point of uniting the South, regardless of party names.

I consider the new fangled scheme of Left Gen[l].[1] &c. perfectly ridiculous. It is nothing more, nor less—Than a selfish and base scheme—designed to benefit individuals at the expense of the best interest of the Country.

If the press and Congress have become so debased, as to unite in keeping light from the people, have we not reason to fear, that the days of our Republic are numbered.

The unofficial people of this country are patriotic. Therefore they favor a vigorous prosecution of the War. Believ-

[1] The plan to make Scott lieutenant-general.

ing as they do, that no other way can be devised to procure a speedy and honorable peace.

From this to the close of the Session, I shall look for proceedings in Congress with great interest.

As Ever Yrs.

WILSON LUMPKIN

From Fitzwilliam Byrdsall. C. C.

Private New York Feby. 14th. 1847

DEAR SIR. I have long observed an abuse growing up in the Senate of the U. S.—of Senators arraigning one another for the political acts or sentiments of former years. In my humble opinion this is not consistent with the dignity of the Senate, or the rights of Senators, because personalities should not be exhibited in that body, and because that as every Senator is the representative of a Sovereign State he is only accountable to the State he represents.

In the recent Tournay in which M^r. Turney[1] in the Senate tilted himself against You, I am much pleased with the manner in which his onset was met. It afforded a happy oppertunity of placing yourself in a just point of view before the popular mind of the Country, for you of all public men have been misrepresented to and therefore misconceived by the people. There is no man who knows you believes that your elevation to the presidency would be any personal acquisition or elevation to yourself but the friends of Constitutional principles desire to see you in a position where these principles could be declared and evidenced with greater effect. This, as regards you and the presidency is the whole story.

But your speech on the three millions Bill in its very severity of truth and analysis—in its strict harmony with the best rules of composition and total absence of imaginative or dictional ornament—in its grouping of facts existing and illustrative, has struck a blow which cannot be resisted or returned in any other way than in personalities. The mercenaries of patronage in this city, many of whom went for Harrison in 1840, others who went from Van Buren to Polk in 1844 and

[1] Hopkins L. Turney, senator from Tennessee.

nearly all of whom will go from Polk to any successful candidate in 1848 accost me in the streets "Well what do you think of Mr. Calhoun now?" I can assure you however that the best and largest portion of the people do not express themselves as these mercenaries do.

The Telegraphic news in the Herald reports Mr. Westcott as having said in the Senate on the 13th. that "the democracy of this administration consisted of nothing more than loaves and fishes from the Lieutenant General down to a mere second lieutenant. If the people of the U. S. were only aware of the corruption which exists at the seat of Government they would tumble the President and his departments—the Congress and the Whigs and Democrats heels over heads together into the Potomac, and they would do right."

This is very strong—stronger I suspect than the Senator expressed himself, but I am forced to believe from what I see and feel around me here, and it is painful to myself to see and feel it, that there is no difference in the principles of democrats and whigs but that which governs Ins and Outs. Either party will resort to any means right or wrong, true or false, holy or wicked, pro or anti that will gain Votes.

I see that you are averse to the acquisition of territory from the populous country of Mexico, or that portion which would grow cotton and Sugar. Were you to go in favor of more territory in that direction, what an outcry would be raised that you wanted the whole of Mexico for slave States. There would be a woful howl among those politico philanthropists who really have as little regard for the negro as they have for republican institutions or the constitution of the United States. A few years ago many of our Barnburning Democratic Abolitionists were "Northern men with Southern principles." If Messrs. Van Buren and Wright had not made a miscalculation upon the Texas annexation question, we should not have now the Preston and King movement, or the Wilmot proviso. The Albany dynasty had calculated that the unpopularity or weakness of the Tyler administration would quash annexation for some time.

I dont hear a word about nullification in these days. Who are the nullifiers now in the worst sense of that term? There is

a vast difference between the nullifiers of an unconstitutional tax law, and the nullifiers of our system of Government.

An old man once said to his son, that if he wanted revenge upon his enemies to pray for long life and if granted, he would see enough respecting all of them to satisfy his desire. I think that if your life is spared a few years longer, you will see all those men overthrown who for nearly a quarter of a century have systematically and by corrupt political machinery operated to pervert the democratic party and the legislation of the Union. You were an obstacle in their way upward, therefore they injured you in every possible manner, and it would seem to be a trait of human nature that the injurer never forgives.

I rejoice to learn by the papers that Senator Lewis is recovering his health. I have felt much anxiety about him and would have written to him but feared that it might be an intrusion upon a sick man.

In conclusion—Every day's experience and reflection satisfies me that if the Governmental principles advocated by you shall not prevail—Our system of Government will not be of long duration.

Yours with profound Respect

F. W. BYRDSALL

From John Tyler. C. C.

Sherwood Forest,
Charles City County Va March 23, 1847

MY DEAR SIR I feel it to be due to myself to enclose you the New York Mirror of the 13th Inst. and to direct your attention to that portion of an article which I have designated by ink lines. I do this for the single purpose of declaring the entire falsity of the publication, most especially so far as it ascribes to me any unfriendly intentions towards you while you were a member of my Cabinet, or the knowledge of any plot or machination on the part of others of a character injurious to you. So far from this I do not hesitate to say that from the time of your acceptance of the Secretary-ship of State to the close of my Administration, you possessed my

entire confidence, and that had it been otherwise you would have been informed of it from my own lips. I held no consultation as to Cabinet appointments and most generally they were not announced to others until they were irrevocably made. Such was the fact in your own case. My object throughout was by calling the highest talents to my Cabinet, to secure myself through great public measures an honorable mention in history. Whether this object has been accomplished or not the future alone can determine. The assumption of motive which is made to me by this libellous writer for calling you to the Cabinet, you are as well aware as myself to be wholly unfounded.

I have abstained from noticing the numberless attacks which have been made upon me as well since as before I left office, but in this instance I have deem'd it proper to break my uniform silence.

With best wishes for your health and happiness

I am y'rs &c

JOHN TYLER

From Duff Green. C. C.

Washington 6th April 1847

MY DEAR SIR Yours of the 29th [28] is before me. It is, under the peculiar circumstances, most gratifying to me to be thus assured of your confidence and regard. If I know my own heart, its first wish, connected with public affairs is to see you in the position for which your superior qualifications, your eminent public services, and public and private virtues give you claims greater than any other person. I need not say to you, that no one has a higher respect for your character, and that no one places a higher estimate on your friendship. Knowing that I have at all times suffered persecution, because your political adversaries feared that my influence would be exerted for your advancement, the suggestion that those who are recognised as your friends wanted confidence in me, was calculated to wound me, in proportion to the claims which my fidelity, my services and my sacrifices gave me upon them. No one else could so well urge those

claims because no one else so well knows on what they rest, as you do. You know that I have never permitted my own private interests or personal preferences to control my sense of public duty. In the case to which you refer in 1840 you know that when I found that Blair and Rives had induced both Lewis and Pickens to become candidates for Speaker, with an understanding that your friends were to vote for them as printers I told you that I would not ask you to aid my Election as printer. I saw then and told you that your young friends in Congress were making a position for themselves in the dominant party at your expense and at the expense of your principles. I have since seen the selfishness of others, and I am frank to say that one of the inducements with me to publish a paper is to counteract that tendency on the part of those who have acted with you, towards being absorbed by the majority. I would now, while your influence is active create an interest which will control for good the future elements of party:

I have always known that you acted then (1840) as you have on all other occasions from a high sense of your duty to the country. I appreciate the influence which the bias of your political associates had upon your own judgment, and altho I regretted then and have ever since, your reconciliation with Van Buren, I have abated nothing of my attachment confidence or respect for you, personally and politically.

After writing to you I saw Gn[l] Gadsden, and conversed with him on the subject of the paper, and he suggested that my best plan was to issue a prospectus and call upon the south to aid me. He said that the objection had been made in Charleston that all was quiet until *you* came, and that their movement had not been responded to in any other place. I wrote by him to M[r] Holmes and have not heard from either of them. I confess that it does appear to me that the South are a doomed people, and I am compelled to ask myself, why should I who have so little in common with them take upon myself the advocacy of their interests? I confess to you further that I cannot close my eyes to the fact that this lethargy in the South indicates a state of indifference which, with the fixed opposition to you in influential quarters, greatly discourages me. I can see that to avail ourselves of Gen[l]

Taylor's position and popularity we may by uniting your friends and his give a direction to the next Presidential Election greatly to strengthen the position of the South, but I am unwilling to take on myself the responsibility of such a movement. Taylor is a slave holder, and should the V^a Election go against them the Whigs will nominate him. This will probably be followed by the nomination of an abolition Candidate. It is our interest to commit the Whigs against Abolition and we should hold a position which will prompt all parties to look to us as controlling the future.

It has been suggested that the people should in primary assemblies nominate you and Taylor.—If your friends were to do this, the Whigs might nominate Taylor and thus complicate our position. My own view is that as yet we should hold the nomination in reserve, put the questions in issue fully and forcibly before the people, and select our candidate for the South, when public sentiment is more fully developed.

I have closed a satisfactory arrangement for the sale of a part of my mountain property. The parties reside in Phil^a and are highly respectable and wealthy. They go to see the property this week and make the pay^t upon the report of their Geologist, which cannot be otherwise than satisfactory. I will then be in funds and can publish a paper on my own account but, before I act in the matter wish to hear from you relative to Genl Taylor's position.

Yours truly DUFF GREEN

From Alexander Bowie.[1] C. C.

Taladega, Ala. 13 Apl. 1847.

MY DEAR SIR, I trust that you will not feel it as a cruel infliction to receive a letter, now and then, from an old and constant friend—more especially as I shall not write but when something connected with your own prospects, or those long cherished principles which I first learned from you, bears heavily on my mind.

[1] Alexander Bowie, a prominent South Carolina lawyer, had emigrated to Alabama in 1835, and had been chancellor of the northern division of that State from 1839 to 1845.

The events of the last winter in Washington, have made a deep and lasting impression upon your friends here, and I presume every where. Such has been the effect produced here, that already we begin to feel that we no longer belong to the Democratic party—indeed, the party has, substantially, ostracised *us*, as Tom Richey "et id omne genus" have served or endeavored to serve *you*. What shall we do? We can never be Whigs, until they repudiate the political doctrines which they have heretofore advocated. If we should attempt a party organization on our own principles, we should find ourselves a third party, weaker than either of the others, and an object of bitter hostility, to both. Indeed, our political creed would differ but little, if any, from that professedly embraced by the Democratic party, it would however as I think, be more honestly professed and more faithfully acted out. I have long been satisfied that the present organization of parties in the United States has been an unfortunate one. Thousands of those who were a few years ago most excellent State rights republicans, are now Federal Whigs. Many, who fifteen years ago, were prepared to peril life, property and every thing but freedom, in opposition to a protective tariff, have since found themselves battling, side by side, with the champions of the restrictive policy. Such, however, is the unavoidable consequence of party organization. Accident often determines the adoption of a measure, when party obligations compel us to espouse it, even though it be opposed to our preconceived and most cherished principles. In our government, it seems to me, the only sensible and legitimate division of parties is by the line which separates the State rights doctrine from that of consolidation. Upon this base, were parties first organized in our country, and I think it is deeply to be deplored that *that* organization was ever broken up. If we could have a reorganization of parties, assuming the old names, or new names with the old principles, many Whigs here (and I doubt not, elsewhere) would join us. In this County, you have some strong friends in the Whig ranks; but they are old State rights men, who find that they are in a false position. It is all important that upon the Slavery question the South should be united—and it is one of the most melan-

choly effects of our present party divisions that even a common danger will hardly produce a cordial union. If we were now, as we once were, either Republicans or Federalists, there would be but little division in the South.

But it is vain, I fear, to talk about new-organizing parties—*we* have not the power to do it, and I suppose we must submit to things as we find them. My object in beginning this letter was to assure you of the unabated confidence of your friends here.; and to ask you, if it will not be too great a tax on your time, to give me your views as to the proper policy to be pursued, in the present state of things, by those who have been heretofore called "Calhoun Democrats". There is no political event we desire more than to see you elevated to the presidency—yet, with your known principles and feelings, we scarcely believe such an event to be possible. By the by, I have often, of late years, been reminded of a prophecy upon that subject uttered to me, by the late Felix Grundy of Tennessee, some thirty five years ago. He spent a night with us at old Mr. Wardlaw's, where I boarded. He was on his return from Congress during the last war with England. I was indulging in a little enthusiastic admiration both of you and Mr. Clay, and predicting that you would both fill the presidential office. Mr. Grundy, agreeing with my enconiums, said, in very nearly these words, "I think you will find yourself mistaken—neither Mr. Calhoun nor Mr. Clay will ever be President of these United States—and I now predict further, that after the last Revolutionary character, who is qualified for the station, shall have filled the office, a first rate statesman will never attain it—such a man will never sell himself to a party; and therefore can never be elected." So far his prediction has been verified; and although I do not believe that the mantle of Elijah fell upon *his* shoulders; yet I have awful fears that he guessed the truth.

May we not hope to see you at our house next autumn? You promised me you would make your next trip to Alabama by this route. Excuse this rambling epistle, and with kind regards to Mrs. Calhoun, believe me

Your sincere friend,

A. Bowie.

From R. K. Crallé. C. C.

Elwah Cottage, April 18th 1847

My dear Sir: I have delayed answering your favour of the 22nd ult. until I could hear and see more from various sections of the State as to the probable course of public affairs. Enough is now developed to warrant the conclusion drawn in your note of the 6th inst. which has just reached me. Ignoble cowardice and an inordinate love of office have prevailed over every honorable sense, truth, justice, consistency and patriotism. The dread of being in a minority is far more powerful than the love of truth; and manly independence succumbs to the hope and expectation of plunder.

Such is the spectacle presented by the State of Virginia. Her Politicians, with some few honorable exceptions, have been so long under the controul of Ritchie, that abject subserviency seems to have become a part of their very natures. Had your friends maintained firmly the stand they took at the meeting in Richmond, I have no doubt the state could have been preserved from the fatal tyranny of a National Convention; but the time when the meeting was held was most unpropitious—immediately preceeding an election in the result of which many of its members had a direct and strong personal interest. Without organization, or the means to make their influence to be felt immediately, and uncertain of the final result of an open and bold stand, they were foolishly led to compromise every thing by yielding that which gives to their enemies complete controul now and for the future. Harvie and Seddon and Bocock seem alone to have maintained themselves.

This is all most shameful, nay, disgraceful;—and is enough to make a man forswear politics altogether. But the end is not yet. The result of the election next Thursday[1] will present some reliable data for future calculations. If it go against the Hunkers (and I am strongly inclined to this opinion) it may present hopes favourable to a future and more auspicious organization of Parties. The dominant Party will perceive its need of our assistance, and may be induced to reconsider its stringent and exclusive rules of discipline—

[1] The Virginia election of April 22.

principles they have none. But if they carry the State, it seems to me that no favourable calculation can be made on the State for the future. We must be put down as the servile and obedient vassals of the Albany Regency; unless, indeed, some new question arise to arouse the public mind from the stupor that enthrals it—or some popular favourite to sever the bonds that bind us.

As to the former, I had entertained hopes from the great issues involved in the Wilmot Proviso, and presented in your Resolutions. But as you well observe in your note of the 6th inst. these are virtually surrendered when the election of of the Chief Magistrate is given up to the Cabal called a National Convention. Their selection determines the person, and their *imprimateur* endorses the principles of the candidate. So that even this tremendous question gives place to the engrossing matter of power and plunder. Indeed it is much to be doubted, (I speak of course in reference to this State alone, as to the other Slave States it may be otherwise) whether the naked issues involved in the Wilmot Proviso would, of themselves, suffice to overthrow the despotism of Party—: for a very large portion (the trans-Alleghany) of the State is, I fear ripe for the measure, however the fact may be concealed from motives of Party prudence. The fear of losing the vote of the State in the Presidential Election alone, I am inclined to think, prevents both factions in the west from showing their hands. As to the Richmond Junto, looking as they do solely to the possession of power and the plunder it secures, I hesitate not to express the opinion that they will side with the majority, even should that threaten the safety of our domestic institution as it exists,—much less its extension to new Territory. Indeed, so completely have they stultified the public mind, that you cannot even bring intelligent men to look the question fully in the face. They are too much engaged about the election of Presidents to think or to reason like men. This is true of both factions, and if the disease exist to the same extent in other states we shall keep easily under the yoke, without even sufficient virtue to enter a protest; much less to resist as becomes men the daring assault on our rights, honour and liberty.

The other alternative presented in the moral weight of some popular favourite is hazardous in the extreme, as our own past history sufficiently proves; to say nothing of the histories of other popular Governments. That favourite *must be* a *military Chief*. None other, without some great change in the temper and spirit of our People, can ever hope again to weal sufficient power over the masses. If such a man be taken up, and through his influence the vile machinery of the Factions that infest the state be deranged or broken up, what security have we against the common destiny of all Republics? Jackson might have fixed the Government on a firm basis for a century at least had his virtue kept pace with his popularity, or his judgment been equal to his energy. But while he overthrew the Federal Oligarchy, he allowed himself to be used as the [*word missing*] tool of the worst of all factions—*The Spoils Party*—the very men who had most bitterly denounced him, and left us as a legacy ignorance, vice, insolence and anarchy.

It is true, we may all entertain better hopes of Genl. Taylor, who, it seems is fast rising into notice and threatening the aspirants of the present corrupt and imbecile dynasty. I see it stated in the Public Papers that you have retired from the contest and advised your friends to rally to his support. Is this true? I shall not attempt to dissuade you or offer counsel; but while I feel it to be absolutely necessary for the safety of our institutions that the present infamous dynasty should be utterly overthrown and extirpated, I am by no means certain that the election of Genl. Taylor will secure it. Should the Plunderers find him too strong to be resisted, they will, as in the case of Jackson, immediately sheathe their poison poignards, and salute him with a kiss, though it be that of Judas. This they will certainly do; and looking forward still to the future, will endeavour at the same time to preserve their vile machinery of Conventions and Caucuses for future use. If he be of the tone or temper of Jackson, he will, like him, pass through the fire to Moloch, and leave corruption and despotism as our perpetual heritage.

On the other hand, if they stand out, and the opposing faction take him up, as they will do, it will be with aims not very dissimilar. Already you see, from the late nomination

in Philadelphia when John Sargeant and others of that ilk figured most prominently, that a *National Convention* is to pass its final and authoritative judgment. Thus you perceive that they too are for preserving, *in the first place*, the same iniquitous machinery, and doubtless for the same iniquitous purpose. The fact is, that little and bad men cannot rise without the use of *this lever;* and therefore little and bad men, (and who amongst the low and debased leaders of the two Factions can be placed out of this category,) will stand by it to the last. In fighting for it, they are contending for their very existence.

In no case, therefore, could we, I think, safely or consistently support Gen. Taylor, but as a Candidate distinctly opposed to these infernal machines, which have already corrupted the public virtue and prostrated the most conservative principles of the Constitution. That he will have it in his Power as President to reform, to a great extent, the abuses and corruptions of the Government, I have no doubt; but the sincerity of his purposes should be tested by an open and undisguised denunciation of that vile system of President-making &c. which, more than all other causes combined, has led to these abuses and corruptions. If he will do this, his election, with your support, will be certain; and the consequent benefits to the Country incalculable. Will he do this? Will he throw himself upon the People, instead of the ignoble knot of political hucksters who have sold and enslaved them?

If you retire from the contest, however, and under the present aspect of affairs, I cannot undertake to dissuade you, I, for one, shall have no more to do with public matters; but retire forever from the arena, to the calm pursuits of literary and agricultural labour. I see the tendency of the public feeling is towards Taylor every where. It is eminently so in this section. This is what I [*word missing*] and predicted in my letter to you the Session before the last. This Mexican war I felt assured was destined to produce a new litter of military *Heroes* and *Presidents*. The prophecy is in a course of fulfilment. For your *own* reputation I never believed that the Presidency was worth the pursuit; or that patronage and power could add anything to your fame. Still, for the sake of the Country and its Institutions, I desired much to see you

in the Chief Magistracy. Your retirement, if indeed, you have retired from the contest, will not deprive me of the hope; for with your regular and temperate habits, I do not doubt but that your physical and mental energies will remain unimpaired for many years to come. I shall, therefore, still live under the hope that *when I vote for a President*, it will still be for John C. Calhoun. I shall, *most surely*, vote for no other, though the dead rise to bid me.

Blackford will publish your remarks next week. They would have appeared before but for the pressure of local electioneering matter, and military despatches.

I wish most ardently that you and your family could spend the summer or fall months with us in the mountains. I have had considerable additions made to my House, and, by August, could give you very passable accommodations. Such a trip would serve much to strengthen and recreate you. Write to me as soon as this reaches you, as I am very anxious to know your views and purposes after seeing the Papers last night. Mrs. C. joins me in affectionate regard to yourself Mrs. C. and Miss C. Mary is at school in Richmond.

Very truly yours &c

R. K. CRALLÉ.

From Peter S. Smith.[1] C. C.

Philadelphia, Apl. 24, 1847.

DEAR SIR, Admiring and approving your recently published sentiments with reference to the elections of future Presidents from and by the People, at the instance of the American Executive Committee of the State of Pennsylvania of which I have the honor to be Chairman, I respectfully inquire whether, should it be tendered to you and that unanimously, you are disposed to accept the nomination of President of the United States from the National Native American Convention to assemble at Pittsburg, Pa. on the second tuesday of May ensuing, for the purpose of designating Candidates for President and Vice President of the United States?

The Candidates to be nominated as the Peoples' Candidates

[1] An indorsement in Calhoun's handwriting records this letter as "received too late to be answered in time."

and to be supported by the great American Party of the Country, as the standard-bearers of the National principle, that to preserve and perpetuate our Republican Institutions, *The American Born must Rule America.*

I am Sir Very Respectfully your friend

PETER SKENE (?) SMITH

From James Hamilton. C. C.

Charleston April 24, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR. If I have not written you before it has been the result of my having been for the last two Months on the move in my Journey to Texas and on my return home. Your course, the vindictive attacks which have been made on you, the admirable ability with which you have sustained the one, and the firmness and dignity with which you repelled the other have commanded my alternate sympathy and augmented Regard.

On my return home, I found with few exceptions the Democratic press of Georgia was in full cry against you and among the most rabid and clamorous was the Columbus Times edited by a Son of the late Mr. Forsyth.

You have some very devoted friends in Columbus who happen to comprise the most intelligent and respectable people in that place. As soon as they learnt my return from Texas they sent for me to come up to Columbus and to consider how these attacks were to be repelled. At their suggestion I went to the Hotel and sketched an article, which I send you which however militant in its tone the Editor was compelled to publish. It is only an introductory Fire vindicating your *Motives* from the unworthy imputations cast upon them. The defence of your *course* and *opinion* I reserve for a moment of greater leisure and a more convenient season under proper provocation. I mean when I take it in hand to make it effective if I can.

I am just from N Orleans the focus of all the Rays which are there converging from the Valley of the West to make Genl Taylor President. His partisans are almost universally your friends and the most intelligent surrender, or rather are inclined to surrender your claims rather from *necessity* than

choice because they believe that the popularity of the old Gen[l] will *alone* enable the Country to relieve itself of the conjoint and infamous burdens of Hunkerism and abolitionism.

A Relative of Gen[l] Taylor's came to see me when I was in New Orleans and frankly told me that he greatly prefered you to his kinsman for the Presidency but under your recent rupture with the Democrats and the total alienation of the Northern Whigs from you on a/c of your position on the Wilmot Proviso your election was altogether hopeless altho if Gen[l] Taylor was out of the field he had no doubt you would get a majority of the Slave States in the Union.

In these opinions I entirely concur. He then went on to say that Gen[l] Taylor would not accept he believed a *party* nomination or even the nomination of a National Convention. If elected by the spontaneous Voice of the people he might serve. This Gentleman moreover remarked with some emphasis—If without specific guarantees but under a pledge to do his duty to the whole Country according to the dictates of his own conscience the old Genl. received the support of the highly talented party of M[r]. Calhoun (the most talented and chivalrous as he was pleased to say in the Country) he and his friends would have a fair share in the Gov[t] of the Country and in the direction of its public measures. My reply to him was that next to yourself, I should certainly prefer the election of Gen[l] Taylor, because I believed he was an honest Man with a kind heart and a clear head. But I could give no assurances of support without consulting my Carolina friends with whom I was resolved to act *under all circumstances and contingencies.*

Now My Dear Sir What are we to do? With Gen[l] Taylor in the Field you cannot be elected and even if he is withdrawn (of which there is not the smallest prospect for his friends will force him into the canvass) your election would be doubtful and could only be consummated after a tremendous struggle in the H. of R.

The Question then arises shall we stand off and permit the Genl. to pass into the hands of the Whigs or by a timely tender of our adhesion endeavor to organise a New National Republican party on a broad basis sufficiently broad under the adjustment of the tariff, internal improvements, Bank, and rejection and negation of the Wilmot provisio to admit of

Crittenden and yourself taking part in the Gov^t of the Country.

I shall write to two of Genl Taylor's friends (in immediate communication with him) to take the ground that he will accept *no party nomination* Nor will he entertain for one moment a consideration whether he will accept the presidency *until the War with Mexico is closed.* This will give us time to shape our Measures but the question again presses home what shall these measures be? We must not lag too far in the rear or we shall lose all influence in controlling public measures. Or shall we let this Military tempest rage, stand aside and take no part in its power or its agitations?

I cannot perceive how a Man of your power whether in or out of Congress can take no part in the public affairs of the Country. Your influence would be as *certain* altho as *silent* as the Laws of Gravitation. It is the irresistible destiny of Genius, and it remains for you to decide how you will use that power in an entirely new State of things. Write immediately in reply directed to Savannah Geo.

I remain My Dear Sir with esteem Faithfully and respcy yours,

J. HAMILTON.

From R. B. Rhett. C. C.

June 21, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR I have very little communication here with the Cabinet Ministers: but I have found by relatives, and conferences with the President himself, and without giving you authority, I will tell you what I suppose to be the present probability as to future events.

In the first place, they are still full of the idea of conquering a peace: That will not be dispelled, until the City of Mexico is taken, and no peace preceeds or follows its capture. Should however, the administration be disappointed, in conquering a peace with the money at their command, I do not think they will come to Congress to ask another loan. They will adopt a policy consistent with the ordinary [moves?] of the Government, and that policy must be, the one you sug-

gested and advised at the last Congress: It will be a bitter pill to many of them, but it will be swallowed rather than meet worse consequences. Altho' as you suggested there is a large Party growing up in the United States, who are for taking the whole of Mexico,[1] the President I do not think will support it. Old Ritchie would if for no other reason, because you are opposed to it. Benton and Silas Wright altho now not prepared for it, might rally on this ground, believing it, a popular one; and as a good set-off to the Wilmot Proviso blunder. Walker Mason and Clifford in the Cabinet, will be opposed to it. Cave Johnson will do as Polk does; and he will not I am satisfied go for any such policy. I think then, matters will stand thus. If we get a peace, then the Wilmot Proviso must come up in the Senate, and the treaty be rejected, unless the South is false to itself. This will break up the Democratic Party, and disgrace the Administration. If on the contrary, no peace is obtained, then, the administration is compelled to adopt your policy—worse to them, so far as their desires are concerned, than such a disgrace. In either event, the war-makers have little to gain, by the progress of things.

I enclose you a letter I have rec^d from Lewis McLane, to show you his opinion as to our supporting Taylor. As soon as I hear from Genl. Davis I will communicate with you, but Gov. Brown from Mississippi told me a week or so ago, that Genl. Davis said that Taylor is as sound on the Tariff Question as you are. He is also said to be opposed to a U. S. Bank. We may be driven to support Taylor; but I fear the Whigs will render it impossible by nominating him as their candidate, by a National Convention. Thinking they can elect Taylor anyhow, they will insist on making the election a Whig affair. Scott is in furious Dudgeon at Trist's Mission,[2] whilst the administration hate both him and Taylor. It is a hard case, that after all, as the consummation of their policy, they may be compelled to make these men or to make you; perhaps both. Some of them may grow grey or crazy, under such intolerable retribution.

You seem to suppose that I am not to be a member of the

[1] See the article by Prof. E. G. Bourne, on the United States and Mexico, 1847-1848, in the American Historical Review, V, 491.

[2] The mission of Nicholas P. Trist, sent to negotiate a peace with Mexico.

coming Congress. I have not "*resigned*" as you say: but only decline a re-election in 1848. By this time I suppose the present troubled aspect of public affairs will be settled—either for our relief, or permanent endurance.

Believe me Yours Very sincerely

R B RHETT

From Fitzwilliam Byrdsall. C. C.

Private. New York July 19th 1847

DEAR SIR, You expressed yourself in the Senate of the U. S. to the purport—that the Mexican war was the commencement of a new career in our political history, which precluded your View into the future. I was much impressed with the force and beauty of the declaration at the time you uttered it, and since then, the idea your words conveyed, has remained indelibly traced upon my memory.

This war has given additional excitement to the fanaticism of Abolition, and has already divided the republican party of the North within itself, as well as almost placed it antagonistically towards the Southern portion. The battle fields of Mexico have also introduced Genl. Taylor to the people of the United States, as the most prominent candidate for the presidency in 1848, and how many more candidates for that high Office are to come from the same source in future times, who can tell? It is remarkable too, in this era of anti war societies, evangelical unions, anti slavery Conventions, mutual guarantee associations and propagandism of philanthropy that a war chief should stand high in the estimation of these modern crusaders, and that the partizans of every kind of movement, are much taken with the notion of a no party candidate, i. e. no movement at all. But with all this eclat about a no party, or all parties Candidate, it is very evident that Genl. Taylor is not the first choice of those who have hitherto controlled the action of the two great political parties. There are other public men that the politicians would greatly prefer to him, but they will yield to the popular will, when they cannot with safety to their selfishness do otherwise. Now, although I do not consider the elevation of a military commander to the highest office in the Republic, as a desirable object as respects

republican Institutions like ours, yet under existing circumstances, with Wilmot provisoes, vicious organizations of political parties &c &c. it may be that Gen[l]. Taylor is the best man to break up those long standing corrupt organizations, which have exercised more despotism over the citizen than ever existed under any other constitutional Government. If Gen[l]. Taylor is disposed to exert the influence and patronage of the Executive department to this end, he would deserve the gratitude of every friend of freedom of suffrage, and I would prefer him to all other men that I know of, save one.

The recent batch of political manifestoes of the great I am Thomas H. Benton, together with the billing and cooings between the Wilmot proviso Democrats and the abolitionists, have greatly invigorated the hopes and desires of the Van Buren myrmidons as respects a restoration of the Albany Regency Bourbons in the person of Silas Wright. They speak confidently of his being the Candidate of the party in 1848, that with him the State of New York can be carried, and "as goes the State goes the Union." They allege that the loss by the Argus faction, will be more than made up in other quarters;—and besides, there is some prospect of a reconciliation. There is evidently an under current movement on foot amongst the managers, and no effort will be left untried to regain ascendancy, or to triumph in working a defeat.

Party Organizations, as managed, are the curse of the Union. Their operation is calculated to afford demonstration to the world, that the beautiful theory of representative Government is Utopian. The least Virtuous of our politicians in secret cliques and combinations, contrive, by packing the Conventions, to controll the nominations, while there is at all times, a concert of action amongst them to keep the most high minded and capable men in the back ground. For many years you, and all your unflinching friends in this part of the Union, have been jealously guarded against, for there has grown up, nurtured by the partizans of Van Buren, Benton, Wright and C°. a hostile feeling towards you in the minds of many otherwise well meaning men, which amounts at this day to a fixed prejudice, with which no facts or reasonings can prevail. Have you not for years been opposed by the organized presses of these politicians? Has not every meas-

ure you advocated been resisted to the uttermost, without regard to the principles avowed by the party? How many men in the Senate have risked encountering you as a means to recommend themselves to favor or popularity, or to make themselves great, like as in the fable of the frog and the Ox? Without going fa[r]ther back than the last session of Congress, if Benton, Cass, Turney, or any of your antagonists had prevailed against you, the presses of the organization would have fulminated a yell of triumph throughout the land, the echoes of which would not have ceased during your life time; for in one sentence, you are the object of the malignity of three of the worst passions of human nature, namely, the *selfish ambition* of your political foes, the *avarice* of the protectionists and the *fanaticism* of the abolitionists? But it is greatly to your credit that you nobly sustained yourself through every trial; it is greatly to the honor of the State you represent that she has stood by you while opposed by all sorts of organizations of political and selfish interests, and which would have probably overwhelmed any other man of any other State. Nevertheless, the most wonderful feature of your career is, that notwithstanding all the above adverse circumstances, and even more, you have fixed upon the American mind, your views of Constitutional powers, your ideas of Republican Government, your principles of political economy, more extensively than all your Competitors or Cotemporaries. Yet this is not all, there are thousands of politicians who in these days are in favor of the constitutional expositions they formerly condemned, while they still retain the animosity towards the exponent, which his course *then* excited. For myself, I avow the fact that to no man of the dead or the living do I feel that I am so much indebted for a proper comprehension of our system of Government, as yourself.

Your recent speech, which you delivered in Charleston,[1] is of timely import to the Southern States. It presents to them their true position in the confederacy, and the dangers to which they are exposed. No division should be *there* on the old party grounds about the presidency, but all should unite for the one great object of placing the Veto power of

[1] March 9, 1847, Works, IV. 382-396.

the constitution in the hands of a faithful Southern man. Let me tell you here, that the anti southern Democrats in this part of the Union, are looking forward to the death of the defender of the constitution, and calculating upon their future success after that event. "After him" say they, "there never will be another John C. Calhoun to stand boldly up in the defence of Southern slavery." "The wish is father to the thought," and that it exists in high quarters I give you proof by naming W^m^. F. Havemeyer the ex mayor of New York, as one of those who has uttered those words. There is truth in them too.

Some time ago, I was in hopes that the Republican party would have a majority of States in the next House of Rep. but with Florida since lost, Georgia and N. Hampshire equally divided, I doubt the policy of sending the election of president to that body in 1848. If the Republican party should have a majority of States, and were you one of three candidates before the House, I cannot doubt the result, for with the intelligent members who are friendly to you (no other public man Standing so high in the estimation of the virtuous and intelligent men of our party,) and the Whigs, who certainly prefer you to any of the opposing candidates of their party, your success would be almost inevitable. For many years you have been my first choice for that office. I know of no other man who deserves it so well of the whole country, but a crisis has arrived which enjoins us to take no step in that direction, unless we have light upon our path, unless we have a candidate with the popular prestige of success. It appears to me that the path you have indicated for the south, would lead to General Taylor for the next presidency. I think we can elect him by the popular Vote. In that event, God grant for the safety of the Union that he may prove to be all that the true hearts of the Republic anxiously and patriotically desire.

The Hon. Dixon H. Lewis of Alabama has had a short sojourn in the city of New York. It is not my wont to call on public men when they are en route in this section of country. I never did so when Jackson, Van Buren, Tyler, Polk and others of distinction were here, but M^r^. Lewis merits from me grateful consideration and I visited him twice with

much gratification to myself. I regret that circumstances prevented me from evincing those attentions to him which would have afforded pleasing recollections to me. His frankness and kind heartedness are so evident as to ensure him a passport to the best feelings of every body. He went about our city and its environs considerably. I do not recollect an instance of a public man that left more favorable impressions upon those who came in contact with him than he has. At a meeting of the farmer's club, he descanted upon his own agricultural experience and observation, in a way that pleased many of the auditors some of whom have since highly commended the original yet common sense character of the Views he expressed. The Tammany Society learning that he was not an ordinary minded man, but one attracting popularity and notice, not only from the Citizens, but also from its rival body the Texas and Oregon association, sent a deputation to him with an invitation to become a brother of the Columbian order, which he acceded to, and was regularly initiated into that Society, the over twenty Sachems of which, are nearly all of the Van Buren and Wright Kidney. Strange as it may seem, the rival factions united temporarily on him to a certain extent, and he became for a time, a sort of Lion to the two sets of Democrats; one set in favor of nominating him for the Vice presidency with Silas Wright for the presidency, the other set for him for the same office with Genl. Cass; both sets calculating that a Vice presidential candidate from the State of Alabama, would be from the right section of the Union to run with their man, especially as M^r. Lewis is well known as a friend of M^r. Calhoun, *of course*; his nomination would draw all the friends of the Carolinian. As to the motives of either set, I confess my want of faith in N. Y. politicians, and could more readily believe that enmity to M^r. Calhoun is at the bottom of these matters, that to work upon the self love of M^r. Lewis, a common feature of all men, is not the most difficult method of accomplishing an alienation between friends.

In connection with these remarks, it may be well to examine the political characters of those whose names are attached to the letter inviting him to a public dinner. The list comprises some of the best names amongst our merchants, but

them I shall pass over to get at the politicians; and first I shall give you the *Van Buren men of the anti Southern stamp.* Viz. J. J. Coddington—Elijah F. Purdy—Wm. Havemeyer—Chas. A Secor—James Conner—A. Vanderpoel—B. J. Messerole—Andrew Carrigan—Niel Gray—Thos. B. Tappan—Wm. C. Bryant—F. W. Edmonds—Nathaniel Jarvis—J. McCullough—Theodore Sedgewick—D. D. Field—J. J. Cisco—J. J. Westervelt—A. H. Mickle—Wm. A. Walker—Robert H. Ludlow—Edward Sandford—Thomas C. Fields—Henry Nicoll—Chas. P. Brown.

Next I shall present before you the men of the Genl. Cass stamp—Viz—E. K. Collins—John McKeon—F. B. Cutting—Chas. McVean—Prosper M. Wetmore—J. S. Bosworth—Wm. C. Bouck—H. H. Byrne—D. C. Broderick.

I shall now give you a list of the active but convenient politicians whose names to the letter,—the men who profess democratic principles, but care more for ascendancy in the party. *The always administration men.* Viz—James C. Stowall—R. T. Compton—Oliver Charlock—L. B. Sheppard—Robt. H. Morris—T. Jefferson Smith—Chas. Webb—D. S. Jackson—A. J. Bergen—Saml. Osgood—C. S. Bogardus—John D. Haskins—S. J. Willis—Geo. F. Thompson—A. MaClay—G. H. Purser, George E. Baldwin—Abijah Ingraham—Eccles Gillender—M. G. Leonard—George Montgomery.

Finally the Calhoun signers, steadfast and true are—John Le Conte—A. D. Wilson—Henry D. Cruger—Geo. B. Butler—John D. Van Buren—E. B. Hart—James T. Brady—John Commerford.

The reply of Mr. Lewis to the Gentlemen who invited him to a public dinner is admirable in its style, temper, and patriotic sentiment, and still more so in the enlarged scope which he attributes to free trade principles, and the mighty results they are calculated to produce as regards personal freedom, political economy, and general civilization. I have seldom seen more sound doctrine, clearer argument, or better philanthropy expressed in a few words, in short, it is a happy compendium of the whole. It gives great satisfaction and many persons have complained to me because I did not put their names to the letter of invitation.

I sat down my dear Sir, to write you a letter about generalities and I find I have written a longer one than I intended. I trust however to your indulgent consideration of my motives if I trespass too much upon your time; for as this is not intended either for public display of myself—or for private gain, and is written to a man I have never seen, I may reasonably hope you will receive it with considerations similar to those, which have self-evidently dictated it.

I am Dear Sir, with the highest Respect Your Ob^{t}. Sev^{t}

F. W. BYRDSALL

The annexation of Texas with its cotton soil and Anglo American population was a measure of absolute necessity to the United States; not so the annexation of Mexico with the population she has. It *was* our interest to preserve her republican nationality equally from ourselves and from Europe. But *now* we must take her, in order to keep her from the hands of others, and we will become deteriorated by such a junction morally, while politically the Union of the States will not be strengthened. However we may *want* the lands, we surely do not *need* the incorporation with us of such a people of inferior mixture as the Mexican. We have started upon the course of conquest, we cannot now recede if we would, our success will create circumstances to impel us onward in that direction, whether we are willing or not.

With the accession of several millions of Mexicans at one swoop—with the vast increase of Emigration from all parts of Europe, the question presents itself, can this extensive territory and people ultimately escape the fate all monarchal and Republican Empires have fallen under? Namely dismemberment.

From Fernando Wood. C. C.

Newport July 23 1847

DEAR SIR I have read your letter to the Putnam Whig meeting dated 27th June 1847 [1] with much pleasure, and concur entirely in its sentiments. You may be assured that the whole north do not hold opposite opinions to you on this subject.

[1] See Niles's Register, LXXII, 389.

Many of my friends and myself have long ago determined that if this narrow spirit of fanaticism continues at the North, and produces disunion, *our homes* will be found south of the Potomac where true freedom, chivalry and honour characterize the people. We are heartily sick and disgusted with the conduct of many of our immediate citizens on this question.

Very Truly Yours

FERNANDO WOOD

From H. W. Conner. C. C.

Charleston August 23. 1847

DEAR SIR your favour of the 8th was duly recd and before leaving for the North to day I propose to give you an outline of what we have done here since my last.

We have distributed in the Slave states 2000 circulars and 1000 subscription lists and have sent abroad 5000 copies of the Mercury (an Extra) of the 11th containing an Editorial (written by Elmore) accompanied by the wilmot proviso and the resolves of 10 of the northern states in its favour—with the Virginia and our resolutions on the other side—so far as we have yet learned these documents have awakened the people and been most favourably received.

a few days since we got together some 15 or 20 gentlemen—as a sort of preliminary step to a larger meeting They all subscribed to a man—and brought our subscription up to near $13000.

Tomorrow a larger meeting is to be held (by special invitation—not public) and I have no doubt the amt will be much increased—a short time hence, a still larger meeting—to be called in the same way is proposed. In the meantime committees of correspondence are being formed—to operate on the different sections of this state and upon all the Slave states. It is the intention also to send round amongst the wealthy planters of this state a special agent to Collect.

while at the north It is proposed that I shall press the matter amongst the Southerners on there from all quarters—and particularly in reference to a Southern Association or

other organization which I will endeavour to do to the best of my ability. My address will be to the care of L. M. Wiley &c New York—if you should desire to advise me. From what I see I believe we can raise in this state an am^t sufficient to establish the paper—say 30 to $50000. Some talk of $100 000. In fact there is but one view in this quarter. I *do believe* too that the feeling is becoming deep and widely extended all through the South and that with a proper degree of tact and energy that it may be embodied into a compact form and given the right direction. I believe if Maryland or Virginia would begin by establishing an association to be called "an anti-abolition association for the defence of slavery and of the rights of the Slave holding States and their Citizens", that it would be taken up by the whole South and similar associations be every where formed—with this organization all other parties and influences on the South would sink before its power and we could come up to the conflict with our whole strength brought to bear

To my apprehension the two greatest dangers we have to encounter—is our own apathy and indolence (which it is distressing to behold) in the first place, and the danger of Compromise when we have got into the conflict. It is unnecessary however for me to fatigue you with subjects you understand so much better than we do.

A reference to the Missouri Compromise in one of our articles in the Mercury as the aim of our efforts—was thought impolitic by some of us, and the force of the remark modified some in the original draft—but another article contending that the violation of the Compromise threw us back upon our original Constitutional ground counteracted it in some sort.

I have heard the name of Jno A Campbell of Mobile; R. W. Barnwell, N. F Colcock and Yancey[1] of Montgomery spoken of for Editor. Yancey I think would be willing for it. The others—probably not, tho' I do not know. The time has not yet come to discuss it

Very Truly yrs &c

H W CONNER

[1] William L. Yancey.

From Joseph W. Lesesne.[1] C. C.

Mobile Aug 24th 1847

My Dear Sir Since writing you last some of our friends have requested me to obtain your views, in anticipation of some action contemplated in our next Legislature, relative to the ground which ought to be taken against the "Wilmot proviso". There is a growing disposition among our friends to come out boldly against the further acquisition of Territory as the only practicable mode of saving the south against the danger that threatens from this alarming question. It is a fact not to be disguised, that at present there is at the South a large party in favor of the acquisition of territory. An insane thirst after land is the great American disease, and divested of other considerations the party that hold out the prospect of Territory would unquestionably have the advantage. Nor would the *means* of its acquisition, in a moral point of view make much difference. To take ground therefore against the acquisition of Territory even among the people of the slave holding States successfully, they must be convinced that there is no other mode of preventing their defeat of the question under consideration.

Is it certain then, or highly probable that if the war results in the increase of our territory, the Wilmot proviso will become a law. If so, our people cannot be too soon convinced of the fact, nor can we too soon take measures to force the president to a course which will save us from ruin. It will be too late to act after the territory is acquired and the question of its free or slave character determined by Law. Under such circumstances I should not have the least hope that our people could or would take measures to deliver themselves from the distant ruin that would certainly await them. Indeed it is not easy to conceive what mode of effectual redress could be adopted. It would be a wrong beyond the reach of State interposition joint or separate. We could secede from the Union, but would that help us? Would it change or in any manner affect the territory over which Federal Laws have been already extended with federal officers to enforce within the jurisdiction of those laws the opinions and the objects of the victorious party.

[1] A prominent supporter of Calhoun in Alabama.

I regret to see in the Mercury an article, from the pen I presume of Col Hayne the tendency of which is to create the impression that the interdict of Slavery in the Territory would be harmless—because unconstitutional and void. The writer did not probably intend this. He does not seem to have considered that whatever, in an abstract point of view, the rights of the Southern States may be, the exercise by Congress of jurisdiction over newly acquired territory by the enactment of laws and the appointment of Judges Marshalls &c would have the effect of releasing every slave carried there, on a writ of Habeas Corpus—just as much so as in the State of Pennsylvania where the Constitution of the U. S. has been practically nullified.

I do not think that even in South Carolina the bearings of this alarming subject are fully seen and comprehended. The articles in the Mercury are very unequal to the occasion. I have seen nothing that approaches it properly since the adjournment of Congress except the article in Bronsons Review[1], which I am endeavoring to get republished in this State with the Laws and resolutions of the other States recently republished in the Mercury. I would like to hear from you before this is done.

I have again met Mr Soulé, who repeated what fell from him in our last interview and added again that "no public man ever occupied so high commanding and difficult a position as yourself.—that if by the meeting of the next Congress the war was not terminated the elevation and peculiarity of that position would be still further augmented, and that he thought that both parties would be compelled to look to you as a counsellor and guide". and in conclusion that "all that he desired was that either in word or act you would show yourself in the least degree a partizan". I answered that on that point he might make himself easy. He has great confidence in you, but is more reserved and cautious than when he first reached home.

Very truly Your fd &c Jos W Lesesne

[1] Probably the article on Sectional Rights under the Constitution, in the Democratic Review for September, 1847.

From R. B. Rhett. C. C.

Sept. 8, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR You requested me, as soon as I heard from Gen[l]. Davis as to Gen[l]. Taylor's opinions, that I would inform you. I rec[d] a few days from Gen[l] Davis a letter marked *private*, which hinders me of course from sending it to you. It is of little consequence however, for it contains nothing distinct as to his opinions,—very like what you have seen in the Papers.

Things are looking blacker in Mexico. If Scott triumphs handsomely however, I am still of opinion, that if no peace is obtained by the opening of Congress, the administration will fall back substantially to your policy. If there is any reason however, which may give such a movement the aspect of compulsion, they will not do it: In either event, as peace now seems out of the question, your warnings and counsil must give you a very lofty position. On the subject of the Wilmot Proviso, the administration is doing all it can to settle the matter on the Missouri Compromise line. You see in this morning's Paper Buchanan's Letter on the subject. A friend of Silas Wright, informed me to Day, that he, had he lived, would shortly have taken the same ground. If so, it is to be lamented that he died so soon. Woodbury is open-mouthed against the Wilmot Proviso—Cass following suit. I think therefore, after all it is not improbable that we will make them back out on this great point. At all events it is dividing and weakening the North, and if we of the South only act unitedly, our triumph is certain. The Anti-Slavery Democrats, Butler of New York, Hamlin[1] etc. must be driven off to the Whigs. Certainly since the foundation of the Government, there never has been in politics so silly a move as that of the Northern Democrats on this subject. Their leaders see it, but so many are committed, as to render a return to the right policy very difficult.

On the point of closing the war, should it not be closed by peace by the Meeting of Congress, nothing will be done by the Whigs. Clayton Winthrop and Ingersoll[2] and others, who

[1] B. F. Butler of New York; Hannibal Hamlin of Maine.

[2] John M. Clayton of Delaware, Robert C. Winthrop of Massachusetts, Charles J. Ingersoll of Pennsylvania.

look on the war as by no means much of an evil, since it will create a Debt, by which high duties will be maintained, in support of their Tariff policy, will not with hold the supplies. They with the Democrats generally, if the Administration determines to go on with the war, will secure the supplies. With this conviction I am doing all I can to induce the Administration to take the proper course—and propose a course themselves to close the war—and I hope not without some success. If they do this, and can settle the Wilmot Proviso matter, the Democratic Party may carry the next Presidential Election. Woodbury will most probably be their candidate. Buchanan's course as Secy of State, and Tariff affinities will I think put him aside. Cass wants the confidence of the South. But if the War, and the Slavery question are not settled during the next Session of Congress, the Democratic Party will be defeated, and new organisations of Party will arise.

Mrs. Rhett joins in remembrance to Mrs. Calhoun and believe me Dear Sir

Yours Sincerely

R B Rhett

From Joseph W. Lesesne. C. C.

Mobile Septr 12th 1847

My Dear Sir, ... I concur most cordially in every word that you say as to the retaliating course the South ought to take to bring the northern states to their senses. Their conduct has been most atrocious. No language is strong enough to denounce it. The shameless impudence with which they have trampled the Constitution under their feet, and their mean and despicable contrivances to deprive us of our Slave property ought to be held up to the scorn of the whole Union. Not half has been said on this subject that ought to be. The Pennsylvania Law is bad enough, but most of the other states have accomplished the same end only by more cowardly and contemptible contrivances. The Laws providing a trial by jury for fugitive slaves are the most bare faced invasions of the Constitution ever committed. It is none other than a deliberate attempt to manumit our slaves by withholding the

question of property from the jurisdiction of our own courts of justice. And a grosser insult could not be offered to a friendly State, for it assumes that justice will not be administered in them to a man claiming to be free, to one of its own citizens. I consider the South completely absolved from the slightest obligation to observe any faith to these people. And I do most earnestly wish that we had spirit enough to vindicate our dignity and rights in the manner you reccommend. Your observations on this point for the first time from any quarter, repeat my own sentiments entertained for years past. We are at this moment as deeply disgraced as any people can be by our tame submission to the wicked and perfideous course of legislation to which you allude. I do hope that if the Wilmot Proviso is discussed next winter in Congress, this other grievance will be unfolded and its iniquities printed in its true colours. Had any nation in Europe violated the faith of treaties in the same manner and as often as the Northern States have the even solemn pledges and obligations of the Constitution, it would have been spurned from the pale of all Christian fellowship with other Communities.

You speak of the advantages derived by the North from the Union. My dear Sir, no man South dreams of the extent of those advantages. He who would set down without the detail to prove it the annual cost entailed upon us by the Union would be pronounced a madman or a fool. Our whole commerce except a small fraction is in the hands of Northern men. Take Mobile as an example—⅞ of our Bank Stock is owned by Northern men—as large a portion of the Insurance Stock of the Companies chartered by our own Legislature; besides 7 or 8 foreign Companies who do their business by agencies. Half our real estate is owned by non residents of the same section. Our wholesale and retail business—everything in short worth mentioning is in the hands of men who invest their profits at the North. The commercial privileges extended by the Constitution has wholly deprived us of a mercantile class—and thus deprives us (I think) of the most certain means for the accumulation of wealth. Instead of the condition of Ireland being that which we may *expect hereafter*, it is in fact that which we now suffer. *This little town pays 2 millions annually for the reflected glories of the Union.* I speak advisedly

and from figures. If a swarm of Locusts should every fourth year settle upon our fields of Corn Cotton and rice and lay them waste we should loose less than we do from the causes I have enumerated—causes not peculiar to this place, but in active operation from N Orleans to the smallest village to the South. Financially we are more enslaved than our negroes. But I am abusing your patience. When I am on this subject I know not when to stop. . . .

J. W. L.

From Wilson Lumpkin. C. C.

Athens Nov. 18th 1847.

My dear Sir With feelings of deep interest and sober consideration, I have read your paper of the 7th Inst. Your letter presents a correct, but brief view, of the external and internal relations of the Country at the present time—and you are right in your conclusion, That the questions now before the Country are pregnant with the most vital and important consequences and the result beyond the Ken of mortal man. What ought to be done, in regard to our present relations with Mexico, I am not prepared to say. I am, however, prepared to say, that our National character demands an increased vigor in the prosecution of the War, to that Point which may be necessary to humble the pride of the Priesthood and Military Chieftains of Mexico. Then the question will arise, what is to be the next step?

The Annarchal Rulers of Mexico, being prostrated, the people will desire peace. But the whole letter and spirit of our Government stands opposed to conquering provinces to govern, or to that of conquering a country for the purpose of annexation to our Union. Circumstances might justify our wresting territory from an hostile Enemy, and holding it, peopleing it, and annexing it to our Union. But a Territory already peopled with materials unfit to enter into the spirit of our institutions, and become good Citizens, should never be annexed to our Union.

On the subject of our internal relations, you present the case, as I conceive of it, *Justly*. The long, constant, and increasing disposition of the people generally, of the Non Slave-

holding States, to intermeddle with, and finally destroy and overturn our constitutional rights connected with negroe Slavery, must be resisted efficiently and speedily, or our Federal Union will be dissolved.

Our forbearance on this subject, has to my mind, already become intollerable.

The Wilmot proviso is but one of a long list of our grievances on this subject. And we ought to make one general and consolidated issue of the whole subject. Our great and only difficulty is to unite and consolidate the action of the Slave holding States. Attempts made by States Single-handed must fail. If we cannot produce Unity and concert of action on this subject—Then we may make up our minds to meet the most gloomy anticipations which your letter presents. And strange as it may appear to you, Yet I assure you—that the people of no one of the Southern States, except South-Carolina—are prepared for such action at this time, as you and myself deem to be, not only necessary, but indispensible to the security of the Southern States. Upon this subject our people have been most wickedly and awfully misled by Office holders and office seekers, aided by a Subservient press. One party, *the Whigs*, have deemed it their party interest to preserve a calm quiet silence, least a division might spring up between them and their Northern Associates, and thereby prevent the success of their party at the next Presidential election.

On the other hand, the Democrats have labored long and hard, to convince their southern Partizans,—That the Van Burens, Wrights, Casses &c. &c. was their shield and hiding Place from the coming storm. It is true, that daily developments are stripping off this flimsy Vail of deception. But the minds of the large masses of the people are inveloped in thick and gross darkness on this subject.

I trust I am not wanting in courage or Patriotism to do my duty on this subject. I have most faithfully endeavored to use the humble means at my Command—to sustain those who are battling for the Country. We have many difficulties connected with the Slave question—which are rapidly pressing upon us. To meet them as we ought, I concur with you, that concert of action is the first object to be obtained, and I can

see no way of effecting this object, but by a Convention of the States interested. And if a plan can be devised and prosecuted to success, which will approach to a general feeling on the part of the States interested, I should indulge strong faith, that the heart burnings and strifes, on this Slave question, would ultimately be settled, and the Union preserved. But our Enemies will never cease in their Warfare upon our Constitutional rights—so long as we keep up our Party divisions at home, so as to manifest to the world that we have more thirst for office and selfish Party ascendancy—than for the constitutional rights of the States, and the true interest and liberty of the people.

As they now stand, I am thoroughly disgusted with both the great political Parties of the Country. Both are under the influence and controul of a cunning selfish combination of Corrupt Office Seekers.

They are ready to barter the most vital and sacred Constitutional rights of the people, for place and power. To be sure, there are many good men and true, attached to both Parties, but the influence of such are paralized by the overwhelming numbers of a different character. Nothing short of a thorough reorganization of Parties, can save our glorious Republic from destruction.

If the Country is so far depraved—That it cannot afford material for the leaders of an honest, patriotic party—then indeed, will our days soon be numbered. And like Greece and Rome, It will be written, the United States, *W A S.*

I would not hesitate a moment, but move in the matter which you suggest without delay—if I could be as sanguine as you seem to be, that good would result from the effort. Our State elections being over indicates the present as a favorable time for such a movement, it is so. Nevertheless, when I look over the Material which compose the legislature of Georgia, and consider the influences under which they are governed, I assure you, they are the last body of men in the State, that I would look to for a patriotic movement, at this momentous crisis.

Look at our Congressmen, of both Parties, from Georgia, and you have a good specimen of the leaders, who at this time hold the reigns in the State.

Our best men in Georgia are now in private life, pretty generally disgusted with political life. Those however, who concur with my views are evidently gaining strength rapidly, and I entertain no doubt will ere long become the dominant party in Georgia. I venture the opinion, that the actings and doings of the Present Legislature will greatly tend to strengthen the ranks of the Faithful and honest portion of the State. And if the Wilmot proviso, (as you anticipate) should receive the sanction of Congress, it will strongly tend to favor the views which we entertain. Indeed, the passage of the Wilmot resolutions by Congress, I believe will be one of those wicked Acts which will be over-ruled for great good. It will enlarge the platform on which we stand.

Should the Wilmot resolutions, or something like them, pass both houses of Congress, I suppose as a matter of course, the President will *Vetoe* them. If he does not, few friends as he now has, the number will be greatly diminished.

You are not apprized of all that I have done, for a year past, or you would not suspect me of supineness in regard to the subjects which now agitate the Country. I am not idle, although no aspirant for notoriety. As far as my Circle extends, I have been very successful in exercising a salutary influence in Georgia. My position in relation to public affairs is universally known in this State. When the proper time shall arrive, I will shrink from no position which may be assigned me, in an attempt to get up a Southern Convention, for the Purposes suggested in your letter. The Slave holding States have only to unite in Council and proper action on the Slave question—and our opponents would be crushed at once. Union amongst ourselves would give us strength to face a frowning world.

Your views may be sound upon the subject of retaliatory measures, as suggested in your letter, but my first impressions are not favorable in regard to their Expediency, or practicability.

I at this time strongly incline to the Opinion that the high ground, imperatively taken—That we will no longer submit to the Variegated Violations of our rights Connected with our Slave property, or domestic institutions, by the Non-Slave holding States, would be the most wise and expedient measure

for the South. And after due notice, upon the pledge of our sacred honor and our lives—Maintain the ground assumed.

No man loves or attaches more importance to the Union of these States than he who now holds this pen. But I desire the continuance of no Union which degrades me. If a new State would be Ejected from the Union On account of recognizing the institution of Affrican Slavery—Then the Slave holding States ought no longer Continue in such a Confederacy of States. The repeated assaults upon our constitutional compact has greatly marred its beauty and symmetry, and to my mind it is most clear, that if the General Government cannot be brought back to the Constitution, this generation will not pass away before the glory of our Confederacy will have departed. Write soon and write freely.

As Ever your friend

WILSON LUMPKIN

From John A. Campbell.[1] C. C.

Mobile 20 Novr 1847

DEAR SIR, I have but lately returned from a summer's excursion, taken with the view of improving my own health and as a part of the education of my daughter. I designed writing to you as soon as I could find the necessary time after my return but my health and other causes combined have prevented.

In the first place allow me now to express to you how warmly and cordially I sympathised in your opinions and feelings in all the measures connected with the declaration of War upon Mexico. The folly of that proceeding was so stupendous that one has hardly an opportunity to contemplate its wickedness. You must now derive in the approbation of all rightminded men in the country a compensation for the scurrilous abuse to which you were subjected.

It is clear to us, that the difficulties on the subject of Slavery, in so far as the action of parties and politicians have occasioned difficulty, are rapidly approaching the degree, that

[1] John A. Campbell, afterward well-known as a justice of the U. S. Supreme Court and as a peace-commissioner in 1865, was at this time a practising lawyer in Alabama.

a settlement will be soon required of them. Things cannot remain as they now are. The Wilmot Proviso is that which naturally excites most interest. I regard the subject of the acquisition of New Territory mainly as it may affect the *balance* of power in the federal government. What will be the effect of any large acquisition? Will it be to preserve the balance of power as it now exists? The territory is wholly unfit for a negro population. The republic of Mexico contains a smaller number of blacks than any of the old colonies of Spain and tho' this is not conclusive yet it is a persuasive argument that negro labor was not found to be profitable.

Mr. Buchanan informs his friends in Berks that the territory proposed to be acquired will never be used by slaveholders and Gen[l] Thompson tells us that the territory is wholly unfit for that population. These Gentlemen do not have with me a great deal of influence but I suppose in this case that they are not far from the truth. If this is the case all acquisitions of Mexican territory results in an increase of the strength of the nonslaveholding states and a corresponding diminution of our own.

I have purposely left out of view the more general question whether a further extension of our limits is desirable. I suppose that if such an extension would result in a serious disturbance of the present action of the government of the U. S. that it is to be deprecated.

The first consideration then for Southern men to take is, could it be used by a slaveholding community or would it be filled by a mixed population of Masters and slaves? My impression is that its population would be in a great measure of the free class.

Let us suppose that I am in error and that the territory acquired might be used by a slaveholding community. Still, the largest share would fall to the nonslaveholding states. I take it that the line of slavery is gradually being removed southwardly and that the largest portions of the occupied lands above the 35° and below 36° 30′ of north latitude will be cultivated exclusively by a free population;—and that the line above which slaves cannot be used to advantage will be found to be as low as the 34° degree of north latitude. If M[r] Polk should obtain the line that he proposed under the Missouri

compromise the nonslaveholding states would be the largest beneficiaries. Looking then at the question of the acquirement of new territory as it affects the balance of power between the North and South I cannot see any ground for a hope that we should receive an equal share of advantage.

Regarding the question of acquisition in a more general and comprehensive view I still have been adverse to the acquisition.

This war was not brought on by any act and I may say any fault of Mexico. Our President invaded a territory claimed by that Republic and over which its laws prevailed. Our armies met the armies of Mexico and assailed and defeated them. Our Congress before any notice of the fact of an encounter and upon the loosest information makes a proclamation of war. We have maintained a very triumphant contest and have seized their capital. I confess that I do not find in any facts that have been presented a just ground for dismembering their territories.

2. I have very great fears that the existing territories of the United States will prove too much for our government. The wild and turbulent conduct of the western members upon the Oregon question and their rapacity and greediness in all matters connected with the appropriation of the revenues induces great doubt of the propriety of introducing new States in the Union so fast as we do. The connexion of the Whig party with the Abolitionists has never disturbed me a great deal for the reason that the Whig party is *governed* by its leading and reflecting men. The tone of the party is derived from men of property and character and they are in a measure held to respect property guaranteed by the constitution and laws of the country. The union of the democratic party with the abolitionists I have regarded as far more dangerous because they are held by few restraints and are ready to go farther lengths to carry their ends. I have a similar feeling in regard to legislators from the Western states. Their notions are freer their impulses stronger their wills less restrained. I do not wish to increase the number till the New States already admitted to the Union become civilized.

My opinions lead me to refuse territory. Suppose the point to be settled that territory shall be admitted. I wish it

received on no other terms than those of strict equality. I wish a counter proviso to the Wilmot Proviso to the effect of the first of your resolutions and with a definition of property viz. what the laws of the state from which a citizen may remove may define as property. And that this condition shall so remain until the people of the territory shall form a State and be admitted to the Union and this I would like to see a part of the Treaty of peace.

The Wilmot Proviso I take it, will not be pressed upon Congress at its next session, unless it comes in the shape of instructions to the President in regulating his conduct in making a treaty. I do not believe that the President will be disposed to encounter that question. He will place upon Congress the responsibility of determining the war and the propositions of Santa Anna will be the basis. The question will then be evaded by the Act of the Whig party and the Northern democrats. I have always suspected that the administration would not ask for a line to the South of the 36° 30′ of North latitude and whether he asked it or not, I have always supposed that this War would terminate by securing no larger portion of Mexican territory than is found north of that line. I have done the President injustice by my suspicion. I am satisfied that the Northern people would willingly yield the land between the Nueces and Rio Grande and take California—at least such would be the inclination of their politicians.

It appears to me viewing all these things together that the true course to pursue is to resume as well as we can our positions before the war commenced. The matters of boundary and of debt have to be adjusted and we must consider the expenses of the war and the losses sustained in our armies as the penalties—the dreadful penalties of having selected an incompetent man to be our President. Do you think we will be taught anything by it?

We shall be asked to vote for Buchanan or Dallas in less than 12 months. I have read over with the most earnest care your letters to Messrs Lessesne and Walker, I agree with you that unless we at the South have made up our minds that the solutions of slavery should be controlled by our enemies that the agitation on this subject should terminate. It is a

very great error it appears to me, to suppose that we have any party at the North, or that we shall ever have one. The politicians do not guide public opinion on this subject. They follow after in obedience to it. I believe that no where in the north would a Candidate maintaining Southern opinions on this subject be sustained for any great length of time. The sermons of the clergy—the prayers of the lay members at the church-meetings contain deprecations of Slavery as a sin. The literary class now becoming large and influential in the cities fill their writings with tirades against it. The Northern Press almost without an exception is opposed to us. And above all the colleges and schools are tinctured with the stain of abolitionism. I do not use the term in the sense that it is applied to Garrison and Phillips, but in a sense that embraces a very large proportion of the population. Garrison and Phillips say that the Constitution of the U. S. is a pro-slavery contract—containing powerful and stringent securities for the slaveholder. Phillips has written quite an able pamphlet[1] to prove this—a pamphlet we might circulate to great advantage excluding a few paragraphs. They have collected all the debates together of those concerned in making or ratifying the Constitution to prove the same truth. Their remedy is to make a *revolution*. Now all this is better to me than the course of those other men who deny your rights or who disregard them while claiming to be the friends of the Constitution. A very interesting statement of the condition, prospects philosophy and intentions of the abolitionists you will find in the report of the Massachusetts Society at their 15 anniversary. I made it a point to go over the different offices of publication of the Society and to examine their publications. I should say that their Press was not very active. The office in New York is a poor affair. Their publications are of a low order making appeals to the credulity of the community by tales of cruelty and oppression of masters exercised over their slaves. There were two books of some pretension one by Dr. Barnes and the other by Dr. Bacon and these were the only ones worth speaking of in their collection. Their list was composed of about 15 publications of a low price. The Boston

[1] The Constitution a Pro-Slavery Contract, by Wendell Phillips, Boston, 1844.

office contained books of a higher order and in greater numbers. The whole collection however was insignificant. I suppose That $500 or certainly $1000 would have purchased all in the office. You hear but little of *this sect.* They do not enter much into the general movements of society. The things which do affect the thoughts of men and consequently the movements of society are the various and continual condemnations that this institution receives. The legislatures, anniversary orators and poets, ministers of the Gospel, teachers, all combine in impressing a fixed sentiment in the people, that slavery is a sin and a folly—that it injures the country the master the slave.

I fully agree with you that we should have no share in a convention to make a President tho' I find I am almost alone. The outbreak of the Barnburners in New York has given our people a hope that the party organisation will fall into our hands and we can make the President. They wish to profit by it. I confess a profound indifference to the election of any Democrat north of the Potomac. Mr. Woodbury even if he could receive a nomination would have no chance of an election and I think *his* election is not so desirable as to make us bend a principle to attain it. The Whigs must be infatuated if they fail to elect the next President. I shall be passive henceforth unless you have some counsel that can move me from that condition. I have done so much work in the way of *disorganisation* that I feel reluctant to enter upon a new one and this one is thought to be wholly unjustifiable. I joined a Taylor meeting last summer. My object was to put before the public the principles that I approved on this subject and to prepare for a war on Messrs Wright or Buchanan in case of the nomination of either. I see no motive for desiring the present organisation of the party and I wish to see the issue of events now before us before making a new one.

I also concur with you in the opinion that we should put an end to this constant warfare upon Slavery. Already it has impoverished our credit and it daily weakens our moral power. Our states are fast losing their respectability. The tide of emigration flows past them. They are carefully avoided. Our people look to the future without confidence and our Slaves are emerging above their condition not in intellect or

moral culture but in feeling and temper. They begin to understand that society is being moved on their account. The abolitionists profess a revolutionary purpose. They openly promulgate a design to subvert the Union. The other classes of the Northern people perform all the acts of the abolitionists without avowing the same purposes.

I agree too that a newspaper at Washington City would do great good tho' I fear it will ultimately fail for the want of subscription. I am willing to aid in the project.

I have troubled you with a long letter for which please pardon me and believe me to be Sincerely

Y^r friend

JOHN A. CAMPBELL.

From Ellwood Fisher. C. C.

Cincinnati 12 Mo 4. 1847

DEAR FRIEND . . . I was in Louisville a few days ago, and Clay was at the same Hotel. I had two long conversations with him almost without interruption on the leading topics of the day. He is thoroughly northern in his notions of Slavery; and thinks it will at no distant period be abolished even in tropical regions. He is however not well versed, either in the facts or principles of the question. He was at first impressed with the notion that Slavery would be excluded from any territory acquired from Mexico, and this by the law of nations until Congress by positive enactment established it there. He held that inasmuch as a conquered Territory must be governed by its previous laws until new ones were imposed by the conqueror, that therefore slavery, not now existing there, must remain excluded until Congress instituted it. But I observed that whenever the acquisition was made, Congress must pass laws for its government as a territory, and must either define what should constitute property in it, and thus positively exclude or admit slavery, or give to a territorial Legislature the right generally of passing all laws not incompatible with the Constitution and laws of the United States, and thus leave the question of slavery to people who should settle there. He maintained however that if the latter

course were adopted the South would be sure of exclusion as the population already there were Mexican and opposed to Slavery. But I asked whether the Mexican population were to be allowed to vote. He thought they would be *of course.* I replied that I thought they would *not be* of course. He finally admitted that whether Congress pronounced affirmatively or remained passive on the question depended on the manner in which it was presented.

By the way, what will the Administration do on this question in its policy of armed occupation? If our army should be large enough to repress insurrection or prevent it, and our people are tempted to emigrate to Mexico, is the municipal law of Mexico to prevail, so as to exclude slavery? If so many of the Abolitionists and Proviso men will be in favour of armed occupation.

Clays speech has not united his party in this State. Its leaders prefer M^c^Lean, and a large portion would prefer Corwin. But I think Clay is now predominant. I think he will find it difficult to hold Kentucky if a proper candidate is presented against him. His speech has enured largely to thy benefit, in that State as well as of course further South on the Slavery question, and every where on the War question. I admire the boldness with which he pronounced the preamble to the supply bill "a lie," and his rebuke of those who voted for it. As for his notion of a vigorous prosecution of the War if Mexico won't make peace on his terms, many of his warm friends dissent from it and prefer thy policy of a defensive line, amongst the rest the Louisville Journal.

I saw General Butler before he started for Mexico and he is yet in favour of a defensive line. He would take the western base of the Sierra Madre which he thinks could be held by the regular army. And he prefers it not because he would insist on making it the boundary but because it would afford a margin for concession in treating for peace.

I observe that the Union is attempting to under rate the expenses of the War, as if fearful that even all its glory will not reconcile the people to the public debt and high taxes following in its train.

I expect to be in Washington some time in the session but am not now able to say when.

With great regard thy friend

ELLWOOD FISHER

From H. W. Conner. C. C.

Charleston Decr 8, 1847

MY DEAR SIR I recd last night the letter of which the inclosed is a copy, and I hasten to communicate it to you. The Mr Peters referred to, you know I think. He is a whig of the worst Sort being averse to any Movement adverse to the wilmot proviso. As he said nothing to my correspondent touching Gen' Taylors views on that Subject, I infer if any thing was said at all, it was not favourable to his (Mr Peters) views.

I called up at the Hotel the morning after you left, and then only learned you were gone.

I have encouraged our friends here to keep quiet for the present as to Gen' Taylor and all other Candidates for the Presidency and have written to Co' Hayne at Columbia who would see Co' Elmore advising them of the information I have (which I think is about the earliest) and recommending them to keep our friends quiet for the present. The feeling however in favour of Gen' Taylor I perceive is *Very*, *Very* strong in his favour even here and it will I think increase rapidly. The sooner his position can be made definite with regard to us is therefore the better.

When you write us it were perhaps better you should write 1st. with a view to informing our friends here generally as to the state of things and the policy to be adopted to[ward] them and next to give some of us your views and wishes more fully in private. your own better judgment will however best determine.

Very Truly Yrs

H W CONNER

[Copy, Enclosed.]

New Orleans 2d. Decr. 1847

My Dear Sir. You are no doubt aware that General Taylor is here, or rather at the Barracks, six miles below the City.

I have just seen Mr. Peters, who, in company with several gentlemen, committee of arrangements for his reception &c, met him at the Balize and accompanied him to his present quarters. To Mr. Peters he expressed himself openly and frankly, *stating unequivocally that he is a candidate for the Presidency, and this position he intends to maintain*, no matter how many Richmonds there be in the field or whatever may be their present political position or standing, and *that under no circumstances will he withdraw.*

If popular feeling be any test of success, Genl. Taylor is certain to be the next President—nothing, I apprehend, short of Omnipotent power can prevent this result.

Whatever may be the feeling towards other prominent men, it amounts to nothing, compared with the universal sentiment in favor of the General.

What I now state in regard to the General's determination, is so direct that you may rely upon its accuracy, and those who scrutinize the effect of change may discover the probable influence such an event may have on the future action of the Government and on the prosperity of the Country.

Yours truly

From James Gadsden. C. C.

Charleston S C Dec 9 1847

The Honbl J C Calhoun

I greatly regret I did not meet you on your way to Washington. You stated you would be in the City on 25 and I postponed my visit to the 29th. My presence was necessary in Columbia on that day.

I was exceedingly anxious of a long and friendly conversation—and on many matters which escape you on the sheet. The Political movements are pregnant with events. The election of Winthrop would argue more harmony in the Whigs than was generally supposed. Their Union will stimulate union among that wing of Democracy with which Carolina does not fraternize. The No Convention Anti Wilmot Proviso candidate is the man for the South. To you your immediate friends look with a fidelity which has never been shaken; and in candor I was sanguine that your course on the Mexican war, the Oregon Boundary &c &c had placed you in the very

position which I have always desired to see you, the Independent Ante Convention Candidate. But Taylor will occupy the same ground; and his great military popularity (I dont speak merely of its availability) will be a serious impediment I fear to any movement for you on the same grounds, with success. Many of Taylors most ardent admirers and who are bound to him by other ties than military fame or political statesmanship, are likewise your friends. They feel a divided influence and these with others, and the People, in many cases will create a diversion probably fatal to both. What are your views? What can be done to promote Union. I am individually so opposed to the Spoil party; who have more than once deceived us; that I can take no part with any other than an Ante Convention Candidate—My preferences have always [been] and continue for you, above all in the Country but if your high claims are to be again postponed: let us know early the intentions; that concert of action may be certain to secure the triumph of one who will not court our influence to deceive and who will stand by the guarantees of the constitution as the Political Bible of the States. I write in *confidence*, expecting a response in the same feeling. I have individually been drawn into, or reconciled to political movements in the past that my judgment did not approve of at the time. I went however with others with whom I have always associated politically, but they like myself perhaps now see how we have been deceived. I desire an early Answer. See Holmes. Our views correspond.

Yours truly,

JAMES GADSDEN

From Waddy Thompson.[1] C. C.

Greenville Dec 18. 1847.

MY DEAR SIR. I see that the madness which rules the hour is increasing and seems literally to grow by what it feeds on. I have already spread upon the record my protest from the very commencement of this ill advised Mexican war. I have

[1] Gen. Waddy Thompson, a Whig M. C. from South Carolina from 1835 to 1841, who had afterwards (1842-1844) been minister to Mexico, on which country he wrote a book of importance, was now a planter at Greenville. (See Calhoun's letter to him of October 29, 1847, *supra*.)

no wish or purpose to publish another line on the subject. But if the suggestions which I now make have any weight they will be more useful in your hands than any other. Will the governments of Europe France and England especially consent to our subjugating Mexico? I have very many reasons for saying they will not—some of these reasons not in the possession of every one. Can we prosecute the war if those countries interpose—our supplies and reinforcements must be sent by sea. Their combined navies in the gulph of Mexico without a single soldier on land would at once put an end to the war. Shall we run the risk of such intervention and all the consequences of the conflict which will ensue, or the equally painful alternative of being forced to abandon the war? There will certainly be such an intervention unless we assume the debt of Mexico. If we take the foreign we must take the domestic debt also. That debt is not less than 100 millions. Is the country worth this sum to us besides the annual cost of keeping in subjection an insubordinate and habitually rebellious people, a people indolent vicious and producing nothing for foreign Commerce but the precious metals, and this their single product costing more than its value? The same labor in manufactures or agriculture is much more profitable than the average labor in mining operations in Mexico. To say nothing of the difficulty of keeping in subjection as a province eight millions of people. What history firnishes any instance of such a result? I know of none. To receive them into the Union is impossible. Such a measure would ipso facto dissolve the Union. To which segment would Mexico belong? And would that fraction have power to retain it? Before this war a majority of the people of the Northern departments would have been in favor of a union with us. I do not believe that one per cent of our people would have consented to such a union. How much more onerous and less desirable would such a Union be when forced upon Mexico. All the incompatibility of language race religion education and institutions will occur to every one. Is the country desirable per se, even if we could get it free from the encumbrance of its heterogeneous vicious and hostile population? I do not think that it is. I am quite sure that there is no portion of our own vacant territory

which is not more desirable to such a population as ours. We have the authority of Humboldt that in the latitude of Mexico sugar and cotton will not grow above the elevation of 2000 feet on the whole gulph coast the mountains come down almost to the sea shore. I believe that from Matamoras to Alvarado the average distance from the sea at which that elevation is attained is not more than fifty miles. On the route from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico, it is not twenty miles. This narrow belt is generally sterile and precipitous mountains and the worst climate on this continent the very home of yellow fever. Would any sensible farmer abandon the advantages of the Valley of the Mississippi or of Texas for such a country. Beyond this narrow belt the land is generally poor and entirely destitute of timber, generally more sterile than any equal portion of the United States with which I am acquainted. But if it were otherwise, if well-timbered and as rich as the Nile, there is the conclusive and insuperable objection that there is not and never can be the means of transportation. Suppose a farmer having corn and wheat (and the grains are all that can be cultivated) one hundred and fifty miles from the sea coast will the price for which he can sell them pay for the transportation? The average distance will be more than twice that. If he raises stock what can he do with it? if he kills it he cannot cure it even on the table lands. The coldest weather even there is very much like our warm April weather, and meat can not be well cured. But if it could can it be transported by land two or three hundred miles and compete with the supplies from our inexhaustible west, which are sent by water from the very doors of the farmers. If they drive it to the seaboard and kill it putrefaction will begin before it is cut up and salted. These are no new opinions advanced now for the sake of argument. I have always believed that Mexico could never become a great farming country for the simple reason that it has not and never can have the means of transportation to market. The climate is delicious and the country just suited to a lazy people like the Mexicans, whose highest idea of happiness is the "dolce farniente". What earthly good can come of diffusing our people over such an extent and sending them to a country where their labor will be so much less profitable? But to us

of the South it is positive madness. If it was proposed to annex Canada and the British possessions all would see what an overwhelming addition would be made to the power of the free states. It is not more certain that those states would be nonslaveholding than that these Mexican states will. It is nakedly a proposition to add fifteen or twenty non slaveholding states to our union—woe to the Southern man who lends his aid to doing that.

This Mexican country is the natural outlet to some extent for our negro population. If anything can prevent this it will be the erection of dykes to arrest it by planting non slaveholding American states on our Mexican border.

I do not design this as even a summary of the argument upon this vitally important question. All the leading views I know have occurred to you. It may be that some of these have not and I cannot give you a higher evidence of my conviction of the deep importance of the issues involved nor of my respect for your course upon the subject than by suggesting them to you.

Respectfully and truly Yours

WADDY THOMPSON

From J. A. Campbell. C. C.

Mobile, December 20 1847.

DEAR SIR You have heard before this of Mr. Lewis's[1] election and Col. King's defeat. As Col. King was bound up with the Northern democrats of a very doubtful order, and as he was the candidate of the Hunkers here, this was a work very well done. Mr. Lewis I fear has made pledges which will greatly embarrass him and estrange his friends in this section. He pledged himself I learn to abide a National Convention for the selection of a candidate *preferring* a northern man. He pledged himself to sustain Mr. Polk further than his message calls for support.

In this he will not be upheld. You know what a rough piece of work we have had to perform in this state.

[1] Dixon H. Lewis was reelected to the United States Senate by the Alabama legislature on December 13, one of the opposing candidates being William R. King.

The overthrow of Van Buren and his dynasty has not been completed without an effort. With me (and I can say the same as to the most of our friends) the spoils principle was the great and cardinal principal in their party government to which our hostility was directed. That principle had its entire force communicated to it by the use they made of the caucus system. I thought I observed a decided change among some of our friends upon my return in reference to that system. They supposed that the party organisation had passed into our hands in consequence of the movements in New York. It is not so. Even here in Alabama we can not defeat them. I tell you and Mr. Lewis too that if Silas Wright had lived we could not have prevented his nomination except by the use of Mr. Buchanan's name.

It was a profound conviction of our inability to meet those men successfully with any democrat I could name that induced me (of course there were other reasons) to favour the Taylor movement. They (Hunkers) at once spoke of Woodbury to hush our mouths on the subject of Taylor. The plain reason of this is, that the Mountain democracy command the State and our politicians defer to their wishes. The whole of the talent of the democratic party in this State is with us but, the county leaders are not. And our leaders are unwilling to combat. They succumb continually to those mountaineers.

The whole strength of the Hunkers of this State will be given to Buchanan. He is the administration candidate in the South. He expects the South to aid him against a Wilmot Proviso Northern man. How can we get rid of him? There is but one mode. It is for some public men to take bold decided ground against him. I will not vote for him myself. I will vote for no man whose foreign policy has been so shamefully defective in sound judgment and whose personal character is so equivocal. I refer now to his transactions between Genl. Jackson and Mr. Clay in 1825 and his assertion that Mr. Polk was a better friend of a Protective Tariff than Mr. Clay.

What can we do? Cass has taken so much pains to estrange us that it would be a pity if we disappointed him.

Dallas loses caste from his connections with Polk. He seems to want position and character.

Mr. Woodbury has reached quite as high a place as Nature ever intended he should fill. He has been true to us. He can be depended on as a party man. I am willing to vote for him as a party candidate. Looking above the party can we hope any good from his nomination? It would create a schism in every northern State in the democratic party. He has no hold on the popular favor. He has no public services to gild his pretensions. He was a prominent member of the Senate and supported the party creed and that is all we can say. He would be nominated as the Southern candidate at the North. Has he any popularity at the South? His connection as Vice President with a ticket having your name as President upon it induces some to think kindly of him. His fidelity in the Texas and Tariff struggles endears him to others.

Has he any popularity with the voters? Could one in ten thousand repeat a single word that he has ever spoken. Is he identified with anything save the Pet bank system and Swartwouts failure? If you encourage Mr. Woodbury's pretensions you may take my word, that you will only receive in return defeat. I do not think at the North he can unite the Barnburning democrats to him in any of the States and in the South he has no popularity. The contest in his absence is then between Dallas and Buchanan supposing Cass and Van Buren out of the way. In that contest Buchanan has the advantage all over the country. The signs point to him directly as the future nominee of the party.

It comes then at last to this, what can we do? The perils of a party contest seem to me so imminent—the introduction at Baltimore of the disgraceful scenes that were witnessed at Syracuse appears so probable that for one, I am disposed to part with a party organisation.

At present there is but one principle on which it is sought. That principle is deadly to the Constitution and Union. It is to give full support to Mr. Polk and his administration. To carry out the infamous design of destroying the nationality of Mexico.

We cannot support Mr Clay nor McLean—nor Crittenden—nor Corwin—we cannot be transmuted into Whigs.

We must find a man who will not accept a party nomination. General Taylor is that man.

In reference to the territory question. It appears to me that the Southern people will be found in a weak position if they insist on the acquisition of territory.

In reference to that subject it appears to me that the just grounds, upon which to place ourselves is that we desire none and ask for none for the purpose of strengthening our institutions but we will not suffer those institutions to be weakened by the action of Congress. If territory is acquired we insist on our share but we have no wish to make the acquisition. I was pleased with Mr. Clay's resolution of disavowal. It was of the same nature as your own opposition to the war. I have continually disavowed for the South and have indignantly resented the imputation of a purpose on the part of our people to spread slavery or any other institutions by means of this war. The impression has been industriously made upon the Northern people that this was the end for which the war was proclaimed. Your opposition to the war has been the most ready answer to such aspersions. We require vindication. We require a moderate and even a self-denying course of conduct in all matters connected with the settlement of the terms of the peace. Let us have peace we shall not quarrel about the terms. In having a peace with Mexico we must not transfer the war so that it shall reach our homes. I say we should have the Northern people to settle the peace as they like and to arrange the questions of territory (within proper bounds) but always with the PROVISO that no inequality should result. We should be the *Proviso* men, on that ground we should make our stand.

I have written to New Orleans for the information you desire in regard to Genl Taylor.

Very Respectfully, Yrs

J. A. CAMPBELL.

From Francis Lieber.[1] C. C.

Columbia S. C. 29th. December 1847

DEAR SIR, The class of which your son is a member has requested me to resume a certain kind of lectures which I call

[1] Dr. Francis Lieber, the famous jurist, was professor of history and political economy in the South Carolina College at Columbia from 1835 to 1856.

Newspaper Lectures, and in which it is my endeavour to explain all the leading events and transactions as they occur around us, and to teach the students how to read the papers of the day with profit so as to extract and properly to deposit in the mind all that is important in this fleeting and perishable species of literature, reminding them continually of the two facts that what happens to-day is history to-morrow and that no history is more difficult to be got at than that of the 25 or 30 years immediately preceding us.

I requested your son to beg you to send us in documents or papers whatever you do not want. I will turn it to the best account according to my poor abilities. I know you will approve of my plan, and I beg to repeat here the same request which your son may already have communicated to you.

I can only give the best accounts of your son. He is a gentleman and a student.

Will you permit me to beg of you the kindness to send the enclosed to the address?

Why do so few Southern papers mention your resolutions? At least so it seems to me.

In England I make little doubt but that in [such] a conjuncture as the present one in the Congress is, an administration must resign. Our Constitutional fabric does not admit—or, at least not require it.

I am with sentiments of high respect Your very obedt

F. LIEBER

P. S. I suppose I hardly need add that in my Newspaper Lectures I am constantly mindful that I am paid by the *State*, and have no right to use my chair for propagandism of specific and personal views, although I am aware that a professor is no abstract being—no empty bottle, and that what he considers sacred truth he may not only, but is bound to teach; so, for instance, Free Trade with me. It is for the trustees to see that they appoint the right man as to vital points. I stand in this respect upon the same footing, I think, with our professor of Christian Evidence. He must not use his chair to preach sectarian views, but he can not float in the clouds of indifferentism above protestantism and Catholicism.

From Alexander Bowie. C. C.

Fife, Tal^a 19 Jan'y, 1848

My dear Sir, I am much gratified to learn, through M^r. Bowdon a few weeks since, that he left you at your post, enjoying excellent health, and evincing all the vigor of your earlier days. If the anxious wishes of your numerous friends (of whom I claim to be one of the earliest, warmest and most constant) could perpetuate this condition of health vigor and usefulness, you would never be otherwise. I have been long desirous of possessing your opinions and views on some matters of political interest; which I cannot well obtain otherwise than by a free conversation; and therefore, I am more than ever anxious to see you at my house. I have your promise to come this way on your next visit to Alabama, unless you should travel under circumstances which will compel you to take another route. As next summer will be your long vacation, I have great hopes of seeing you then.

We are looking with intense interest upon the proceedings of your present session. What will be the end of the agitation of the Slave question? Till now, I have never dreaded it much; because I believed we had the power and the will to arrest it whenever it became absolutely necessary to act. *Now*, I greatly fear I have miscalculated the energy and spirit of our people upon this subject. If the question should, at this moment, be made, between submission to the claims of the abolitionists and the dissolution of the union, I am by no means sure that our people would not give up their unquestionable rights, to preserve a union which would then become a curse instead of a blessing. At all events, I am confident there would be much division amongst us, even upon that question. You and I know, whatever others may believe, that the Nullifiers of '32 were the truest friends of the Union, although regarded by many, as its worst enemies—because we sought to perpetuate the Union by preserving the Constitution. I have long believed that if the Slave states would, unitedly and firmly, take the position that they must be *let alone* on this subject, or they would secede in a body, all agitation, at least all worth regarding, would instantly cease.

I believe so, because I know that our friends in the free states are too much alive to their own interests, and too acute in perceiving where they lie, to be willing to surrender the advantages they derive from a union with us, for any advantage they could reasonably hope to obtain by continuing the agitation. I should like to have your views upon the probable result of this question, and particularly your opinion as to what will be the proper course for us to pursue, if the question shall be pushed to extremes. I can see no remedy but secession. I see by the papers that you have written the report to be made to the meeting of the Southern members on this question, and ask the favor of you, if it is printed in pamphlet, to send me a copy. Please also send me (or ask Gov. Fitzpatrick to send me) a copy of Mr. Walker's report on the Ware-housing system.

Shall we have a renewal of Whig measures with the incoming Whig administration? If so, you will have to fight over again your old battles; and the Democratic party will once more learn to speak laudingly of you because they will have use for you. Whilst I always feel proud of your position of independence, I often feel depressed on account of its difficulties. To be a politician and an honest man at the same time, is now the most difficult character in the world to maintain. I ought not, however, to rank you as a politician—your aim is to be a statesman, and it is the only virtuous aim. I should like, above all things, to talk with you about Mr. Polk's administration. With one exception (the Mexican War) it appears to me to have been about the best we have had for a long time. At least, he has come nearer fulfilling the pledges with which he went into office, than has been common of late days.

I did not intend when I sat down, to trouble you with so long a communication. But I find myself, often now, afflicted with the proverbial garrulity of old age, and when I begin to write I hardly know when to quit. I know you will excuse me for making this draft on your patience, while I assure you of the sentiments of sincere regard, with which I am

Your old and constant friend

A. Bowie.

From Henry Gourdin.[1] C. C.

Charleston Jany 19, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR, I wrote to you yesterday, and alluded to resolutions offered in the Senate by Mr. Butler.[2] It seems that we had not a correct representation of them—this days mail gives them to us as they were offered, and they appear to me to be right and proper, viz. to increase the Army by filling up the rank and file of regiments already in existence. This mode of increasing the Army would be in keeping with the long established and well understood principles of the Military Organization of the Army.

In your letter to Mr. Conner you seem to be under the impression that Mr. Dickinson's resolutions[3] have not been noticed in the Mercury. They were very ably reviewed some days since, and I will endeavour to obtain the paper and send it to you. There was a very good article in it this morning also on the Wilmot Proviso and Genl. Cass' opinions, to which I would call your attention. The two articles referred to are indicated by your two letters. If you desire that the papers in this State should continue to agitate these questions you should I think intimate, as far as you can, what they should do, or in other words on what platform they should stand. Thus far, all that has been said and done, has been merely to object to the various schemes put forward by Wilmot Dickinson Cass &c. No scheme has been offered, or recommended by us, and unless something be defined our papers may run on beyond the point desired, and you may find them some day running counter to your own views and opinions, in anticipation. We presume that your opinions are embodied in Mr. Yulee's resolutions viz. that neither Congress, or the Legislatures in the Territories, have any Constitutional right to abolish or prevent Slavery in them.

I give the substance, not the words. It would be an excellent thing, and very desirable, that some course should be determined on that the whole South would unite upon, and then, through particular parties having influence with the

[1] A prominent supporter of Calhoun in Charleston.

[2] On January 13.

[3] The resolutions in favor of Mexican annexations introduced in the Senate on December 14, 1847, by Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York.

press throughout the Country, get them to come out [and] advocate the plan adopted. I think that it might be done by yourself and the representatives of the Southern States in Washington.

We are all pleased here with the Resolutions of the Legislature of Maryland.

I am Dear Sir, Very truly & resp^y Your Ob^t Sev^t

H. GOURDIN.

From Henry Gourdin. C. C.

Charleston Feby 4. 1848.

MY DEAR SIR, I have to own rec^t. of your favor, but cannot refer to its date as M^r. Connor has it for perusal. M^r. Bagby's resolutions[1], and M^r. Yulee's amendments, will be noticed in the Mercury in a day or two.

A report has reached Charleston that Genl. Quitman,[2] and M^r. Dallas will be the Democratic candidates for President and Vice President. From all I can learn, Genl. Quitman would be a more desirable candidate for us than any one who has yet been named. He was a Nullifier with us in 1832, and this is the best guarantee for his Southern feelings, and his States rights opinions. M^r. Dallas is also the best man we can find in the North after M^r. Woodbury. The combination is a good one, and the party who has named them strongly urges their immediate nomination in the State. I do not concur in this move however, and have discouraged it as far as I am concerned. The combination is a good one; but can they be elected? My impression is that the Nomination, especially should it be first made in South Carolina, w^d. be regarded as a Southern one, and that would be quite sufficient to unite a large portion of every party in the North against it, while in the South, so great is the progress which Genl. Taylor has made in Louisiana Alabama, and Georgia, that unless he comes out with some declarations which the Southern States cannot stomach, he will carry the South against any party or ticket that can be named. At the same time he would have a much

[1] Resolutions offered January 25 by Senator Bagby, of Alabama, denying the right of Congress to interfere with slavery in territory acquired by conquest.

[2] John A. Quitman, of Mississippi.

larger vote in the West than Gen[l]. Quitman. However favourable therefore to the nomination suggested, we may be compelled ourselves to support Gen[l]. Taylor to overthrow those of our opponents, who, on the Slave question, are entirely opposed to us, and it would not be wise to place ourselves in a hostile position to him. Besides So. Ca. cannot make the President, and we have consequently nothing to lose by delay, and it would therefore be madness to commit ourselves to any nomination or party. Let others nominate; we will select and decide afterwards, as they may declare themselves.

The nomination to which I have referred comes from Washington. Pray have you heard anything about it? I have only heard it from one quarter and thus far regard it more as a feeler than any thing else.

I am very resp[y] and truly Your ob[t]. Sev[t].

H. GOURDIN.

There is little chance of any portion of our people or the press, committing themselves by any hasty nomination. I write the above, but with no apprehension of its being done, however anxious some may be to bring it about. M[r]. Yulee opposes, I understand, the Confirmation of the Contract made with our Havana Company by the Post Master General. Can you not put him right in the Matter? The Bill as passed required us to go into St. Augustine, which is impossible, because there is not water on the bar by three to six feet, and if the Post Master had insisted on an impossibility, the enterprize must have been abandoned. Our Florida friend and M[r]. T. B. King of the House of Representatives are most unreasonable, and I do hope that their selfishness in this Matter may not be permitted to be exercised to our injury, and the injury of our Port.

From Albert Gallatin.[1] C. C.

New York March 3[d] 1848.

MY DEAR SIR—The issue, on the subject of peace with Mexico, seems to be altogether changed by the contingent Project negotiated by M[r] Trist and submitted by the Presi-

[1] Albert Gallatin (1761-1849) Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson and Madison, had taken an active part in movements against the annexation and war with Mexico. His pamphlets on Peace with Mexico (1847) and War Expenses (1848) had a very large circulation.

dent to the Senate. The annexation of Texas was both expedient and natural, indeed ultimately unavoidable; and, whether annexed or not, it must necessarily be a slave holding State, so long as slavery existed in the United States. I differed in opinion with you, as to the time and manner of effecting the object, under the strong apprehension that these would produce a war with Mexico. But now I am confident that we agree on the importance of making the project, the foundation of a speedy termination of the war; and of a solid and permanent peace.

One of the great obstacles is the question of slavery; and it is highly desirable, that this should not impede the progress of the negotiations for peace, and that, if practicable without committing either party, the discussion of that subject should be postponed for the present and left open for subsequent consideration. I will also acknowledge that I have the most rooted aversion to the annexation of New Mexico to our Union.

In the next place, without regard to right, and only in reference to a solid and permanent peace, I lay under the most intimate conviction, that the desert between the Nueces and the Rio Norte should be made the boundary between Texas and Mexico; and that if the lower part of the Rio Norte is adhered to, it will necessarily produce collisions and the renewal of a war of conquest.

I have ventured to commit to paper my view on both points, and submit them to your consideration. My suggestions on the first subject may appear fanciful and appear impracticable: and I hope that some better mode, having the same object in view, may be devised. On the subject of the Rio Norte boundary, I have no hesitation and feel that it is of paramount importance.

But I pray that, on this occasion, [I] may be altogether kept out of view. I send it confidentially only to the six or seven Senators with whom I am acquainted (Exaltados excepted.)

Pleased to accept the reiterated assurance of my most distinguished consideration and of my most sincere personal regard.

Respectfully your obed^t. and faithful Servant

ALBERT GALLATIN.

From Jno. G. Tod.[1] C. C.

City of Mexico, April 5th 1848.

Mr CALHOUN, I have been mortified to find that the letters that I sent by the British Courier of the 13th of Feb. had not reached New Orleans by the 9th of March!

I sent you a half sheet by that conveyence, believing that it would go forward with dispatch, and that the news with us, about the Peace prospect, would interest you.

The Treaty has arrived, and great difference of opinion prevails as to its probable fate. Those having the responsibility of affairs think we will have Peace in Sixty days, or less time. The truth is, that thus far all the efforts of the Executive Government to get the Congress together have failed; but the prospect is in favor of its assembling in all of this Month. Many good Mexicans, however, do not desire Peace, they want the Country to be occupied by our Troops, this policy gives them an assurance of security for life and property, and affords them a prospect of diminishing the power and influence of the Church; which doubtless, is a greater Curse upon the People, than every thing else put together. The Roman Religion here is not what it is with us in the U. States. If it was not for some of its forms and ceremonies, and its professions, it might as well be call by any other name.

The public mind at present here appears absorbed entirely, by One of those horrid Murders that that shock a community and disgraces humanity.

Some twelve individuals attempted the other night, to rob, in the most thronged part of the City, an extensive Mercantile house, by going from the top of the adjoining building, and letting themselves down by a rope-ladder. The Chief Clerk, a gentleman of great worth, was Killed; the robbers did not succeed in getting any Money, as the firing of pistols attracted different persons and they fled; not however, in time for all of them to escape, as one, or two, were apprehended, since then five or six more have been Caught. Amongst those already in Custody are two Officers, the 1st and 2nd Lieutenants of Captain Naylors Company of Penn: Volunteers. The Adj: of the 2nd Regiment of Penn: Vols: is

[1]Apparently an ex-captain of the Texas navy.

also implicated, and they are after him at present. This horrible and lamentable affair, has done more to degrade the American Character in this Country, and will wherever known, than any thing that has occurred since the Declaration of our Independence. If the Texas Rangers had been in this City and these scoundrels had not been apprehended, I am sure that they would have been suspected, for they had been made the 'Scape goats for all acts of barbarity, as the Mexicans were ready to believe that they would do every thing, no matter how horrible.

If you were in this City for one day, to see and observe the dreadful state of Morals amongst our Troops, you would not be surprised at the outrages committed here daily against society and humanity.

I have always, on proper occasions, denounced the course pursued here by our authorities, in legalizing Gambling houses, and places of resort called "Ball Rooms", which are mere receptacles for a profligacy and corruption unknown, since the downfall of Venice! Not one decent Mexican Lady would dare ever to think of going to a Ball here?—And no American Gentleman, according to the acceptation of the word at home. Yet the rooms are crowded with our Officers Night after Night.

As for the Gambling houses, there is a constant crowd, Sabbath as well as week days, around the Tables—Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, Grey Headed Men and beardless Youths, Married and Single: hundred of Whom keep Women, and openly appear in public with them. These things, with drinking, brings down the standard of our morals to a degree, below the conception of Americans at home. Our Generals, and superior Officers looking for political preferment at a future day, do not possess the firmness and moral courage sufficient to discountenance, and rebuke the vicious habits, that are degrading the character of our Flag: and that is destined in time to roll back a tide of vice and corruption upon our Country, that will be felt by many, when the glory of this war has departed.

Bands of desperate Men,—Gamblers and vicious Soldiers,—prowl about, robbing and murdering,—extending their out-

rages to the Neighboring Haciendas—All resulting from vices that have been winked at and tolerated by those to whom are entrusted the honor of our Flag. Many young men, who are the pride of their friends, and the hope of their Parents, will return home to bring down their grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. Like causes produce like results, and nine-tenths of the inmates of our Penitentiaries, and Criminals whose outrages shock humanity, terminated their career in the path that is crowded here to excess by our Officers. I say nothing about the common soldier. My desire "to see the world and study Mankind" never yet has induced me to visit the "dark places of the earth", or the purlieus and sinks of villany, as shadowed forth in this City. Vice does not degrade the Mexican in his own mind, it is a part of his religion: but with our people, it is different. It makes us abandoned to all restraints of Society, and many who are now here, that were an honor to our country, would doubtless, if they were Sailors turn Pirates, when this war is over; but as it is, they will return home to add to the number of those who are a curse to any community.

I do not wish you, Mr Calhoun, to think that I set myself up as a regulator of other Mens' Morals, or profess the spirit of the Pharisee, but the outrages here at times, would make any Man reflect, who is not drawn within the vortex of dissipation. What is to be the result of it, God only knows. This is a Melancholy subject to write upon, let alone to *send* to a Patriot, and a lover of his Country. Yet it is well that the truth should be known at times, however disagreeable. Foreign Wars if conducted with results that seem likely to accrue from this, would so degrade an army, that they would be ready for any thing, that would give them "a lift" without the efforts of honest industry.

I have just had a conversation with an agreeable, intelligent Mexican, who is lately from Queretaro. He is an advocate for Peace, but fears it would be a long while before it can be brought about, the President is doing all in his power to get the Members of Congress together, even sending them Money to travel upon, as the want of it was their apology for not appearing in their Seats. They have written back, that it

was not received! A party there, are for bringing back Santa Anna and make him *Dictator*, but it is thought they will not do so, until Peace is ratified.

Yr: ob: Serv't: JNO. G. TOD

From H. W. Conner. C. C.

Charleston April 13 1848

MY DEAR SIR I have rec^d your letters of the 4th and 6th and have lost no time in giving currency to your views upon going into the Convention. The Mercury will in [an] editorial give the substance of your remarks in a day or two, but beyond this and the circulation of your views through private channels we have thought it not advisable to go at present. In truth we *are afraid* to excite discussion or even attention to the subject knowing as we do the strong and decided repugnance the people have to a passive or neutral line of policy. It is not the going into the Convention that they are anxious for. On the contrary most people see numerous and strong objections to such a course but all concur I think in the propriety and necessity of definite and combined action of some sort amongst the Southern States and in which S° C^a will play her part and it is with a view to this result that the going to the Convention finds so many advocates On the receipt of your letter a Conference of a few of your principal friends was held here to talk the matter over and see what was best to be done to keep ourselves in position and at the same time prevent a division amongst ourselves, and they all admitted your arguments to be unanswerable as to a Convention both in principle and in practice but they were equally unanimous that we ought *to do something* in common with the other Slave holding States who participate in our views and principles. This is the whole secret of the desire to move upon the Baltimore Convention, not because it is a Convention, but that the other Southern States are going there. Some of them with the declared intention of resisting any nomination and any move adverse to the rights of the South and particularly because it is thought some combined action of the South may then be adopted whose influence will be felt there and that may also be brought effectively into play hereafter

A plan was suggested by Co[l]. Hayne that was thought might obviate some of the difficulties and I was requested to submit it for your consideration and I now enclose it and will be glad to hear from you in reply as early as convenient. The paper was sketched off hastily by Co[l] Hayne with no other intention than of submitting it as a memorandum of the views he himself and others with whom he associated entertained. It will be sufficient however for the purpose of expressing his own views to you All present concur in these views and consisted of M[r]. Trenholm, Furman, Hayne Magreth Gourdin, Carew, and Hart. Co[l] Elmore is not here, but from the conversation I held with him some days since I am sure he concurs in most part at least if not in the whole

If deemed best I think we may evade for the present any movement at all touching a convention in any way; as the public mind is sufficiently occupied with subjects nearer home to them—even this however depends upon accident. If a move is attempted by any person or persons of influence it cant be stopd but admitting that any decided move is evaded now it is sure to come at another time unless some definite mode of action is given to the people. *They will not stand idle and aloof.*

Very Truly yrs

H W. CONNER

From Nathan Lord.[1] C. C.

Dartm° College April 19, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR, I have taken the liberty to send herewith a Eulogy lately spoken by me on M[r] Adams,[2] that I may ask your attention to that part of it which relates to the subject of Slavery. From the manner in which I have stated the issue of Slavery some of my friends have inferred that I lean to the Divine Right of that institution. I confess that leaning. But it is consequent upon comparatively recent and necessarily partial investigation, and I cannot yet fully justify to my

[1] Nathan Lord, president of Dartmouth College from 1828 to 1863, subsequently wrote Two Letters to Ministers of all Denominations on Slavery, 1854-1855, setting forth the Biblical argument for slavery.

[2] A Eulogy on the Honorable John Quincy Adams, Hanover, 1848.

own mind the impressions which are forcing themselves upon me. I wish to have a settled judgment. From my position in this Institution, particularly as a teacher of Moral and Political Philosophy, it is of consequence that I should have such a judgment, and that I should be always ready to give the reasons of it.

Therefore I take the liberty, which, though it ordinarily becomes not an absolute stranger, I shall rely on your known candor and generosity to excuse; namely of asking you to refer me to any authorities within your knowledge in which the argument for the Divine Right of Slavery in general, or Negro Slavery in particular is soundly and learnedly drawn out. And, if it be not too presumptuous I would also ask the favor of any suggestions from yourself which should seem to you useful in guiding an honest inquiry into this very difficult yet consequential subject.

If Slavery is of God the moral and religious people of the North ought to be convinced of it. Otherwise there will soon be no adequate restraint upon that levelling madness which is driving all things, the world over, as there is too much reason to fear, to a severe catastrophe; and not perhaps the least, though we least fear it, the people of our own country.

I am willing to believe any thing that is true, and, on proper occasions to profess any thing which I believe. But I would not give out presumptions for convictions, or put the interests which I represent in false or doubtful positions. I want light, which, at the North, it is difficult to obtain except on the surface of the whole matter. There is nothing in our Libraries or Journals that reaches directly the essential questions. There must be minds at the South which have been diligently set to work, in this respect; and I should esteem it a high favor to be put in the way of obtaining the results of their inquiries.

It has occurred to me that, if not now, yet in the recess of Congress, you might find a few moments of leisure, which you would willingly afford in giving me the benefit of your advice. I seek it only on my own personal account. Yet I have reference to those public interests to which your life has been ably and honorably devoted. I should not thus venture to obtrude myself but for the profound respect with which I

have been accustomed to regard your character, and your judgment upon questions which effect the most comprehensive and vital interests of the country.

I am, dear Sir, With great respect, Your obed^t Servt
N. LORD, Pres^t Dart. Coll.

From R. K. Crallé. C.C.

Lynchburg, June 3rd. 1848.

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for the copies of your several speeches on the California Bill and the Yucatan Message,[1] the last of which reached me by the mail of Tuesday last. I had read Houston's report of it a day or two previously; and as a friend now attending the Superior Court here desired much to see it, I handed it to him on yesterday. He had heard from a brother lawyer of his acquaintance who had seen Houston's Report, that it was the ablest speech he had ever read. The questions involved are, indeed, presented with a force and clearness which surely must carry conviction to the minds of Congress, whatever course their subserviency to the Executive may compell them to take.

I am very glad that an opportunity has been offered for you to explain the true meaning, the intended scope of Mr. Monroe's famous cautionary protest in regard to European interference in the affairs of this Continent. It was high time to put the public right on so important a question; for as generally understood, as expounded by Mr. Polk, as announced every where by demagogues, it certainly was made to assume higher grounds than foreign Powers would be disposed to grant. I have heard much of it before, and never could fully comprehend on what principle so sweeping a claim could be defended. The wonder is that, being so often and so needlessly dragged into notice, in the State papers of the last twenty years, England has not, before this, inquired *by what authority we say these things.* I suppose no fit occasion has occurred to ask an explanation. But is it not likely that the recent treaty, convention, or manifesto, which I see published to day, in

[1] Works, IV, 454-479,

which England claims the *protectorship* of the Mosquito Shoals, and, as such, dictates terms to the government of Nicuragua, will bring the question more fully before the world? I remember, while you were in the Department of State, that some question arose as to the Course the British Government had adopted in order to get the control of the Country; and that you expressed some dissatisfaction at its proceedings. As well as I remember, some Indian of the Country, assumed to be of royal descent, was taken to Jamaica and educated and then placed in the formal possession of the Country; and who, in return for the favour, gave a sort of *political lien* on his territories. The particulars have, in some measure, escaped my memory; but these were the main points. You can ascertain them more in detail by calling on the Department, should Mr Polk make further demonstrations of his beligerent propensities. By the bye, this subject seems to me to be of far more importance than that of Yucatan; for if the Treaty be in fact, *a veritable matter*, it warrants the inference that England, looking to our future acquisitions in the South, is determined to erect a barrier across the Isthmus of Darien, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and to secure the communication between the two by means of the Lake and the River San Juan. This communication I believe you thought impracticable on account of the extreme unhealthiness of the climate from the Lake to the Atlantic. But the movement, if it has been made or sanctioned by the Government, would seem to authorize a different conclusion.

The Baltimore nominations[1] have been received here with a good deal of *sang froid*. No exultation—no enthusiam has been exhibited. The ticket is, in itself, a weak one; but by force of the Party machinery it will carry the State unless the Philadelphia convention[2] show some common sense, which I do not expect from them. I have published an article in the Paper which I enclose herewith, addressed to them, on the subject, but which I can hardly expect will have any the least influence. Numbers have been forwarded to many influential members of the Party; for the Proprieters of the Virginian,

[1] Of Cass and Butler. [2] Of the Whigs.

as well as the rank and file here would be very glad to see its recommendations carried out by the Convention. In my opinion there is no other prospect of success either in this State or the Union. Unless they select some man, *without Party pledges*, they will be signally defeated. Taylor *may*, but you *certainly* would carry the election. But, as I have observed, the Leaders of the Party will demand the previous promise of the Spoils, which I know you will not give. But what will they do? As to Mr. Webster, Mr. Crittenden, Mr. Clay or Judge McLean, I do not see how they can indulge the slightest hope of success. And yet these present the only chances for a *strictly Party triumph*, and if they are forced to surrender that they must be forced to unite either on you or Genl. Taylor; and such is the feeling existing between the friends of Clay and Taylor, that each, I suspect, would prefer you to the other. But a few days will determine.

I am very curious to know what effect the nominations have produced on Messrs. Buchanan, Woodbury and their friends, and what part Walker and Dallas are playing. The two last, I doubt not, have kept the *first* pretty well hobbled for the last three years. Benton, I imagine, is thoroughly estranged. A gentleman lately in his company, informs me that he was become outrageous; and that, in speaking of you as likely to be brought before the Baltimore Convention, he broke out in his ordinary tone, "*No, Sir, no. Calhoun is too great a man—he is too pure a man ever to get the support of this miscalled Democratic Party.*" These are strange sentiments, indeed, coming from such a quarter. He spoke freely of the Party and its Leaders—denouncing both vehemently. Verily there is *nothing new under the Sun* if this be not.

I have not seen a detailed statement of the proceedings of the Baltimore Convention, and should be much obliged, if you should receive an extra copy, to have one for reference. I hear to day that in the latter end of the *feast*, there had nearly been the beginning of a *fray*, and that some resolutions affecting the subject of Slavery were very ominously *negatived* by the majority. And in this connection it occurs to me to call your attention to a late speech of Genl. Bayley, which seems to me to assert some most dangerous doctrines; and Mr. Rhett or some other Southern man ought to answer him at length. Has

he gone over to *the enemy?* He sent me his Speech, and I intend at my first leisure to call the attention of the public to it, for it seems to me to grant nearly all that Giddings himself would ask. . . .

Ever truly yours,

R. K. CRALLÉ

From John Tyler. C. C.

Sherwood Forest Ch^s. City C^ty. in V^a. June 5, 1848

MY DEAR SIR, I thank you for the National Intelligencer containing your speech on the Yucatan question, which I have read with all the attention and interest with which I invariably do whatever proceeds from you. This Yucatan affair is quite an awkward one in any aspect in which it can be regarded. If that Province is to be looked upon as part and parcel of Mexico, then pending the war between that country and this, the insurrection which has arisen may be considered as actually favorable to us, while to take military possession would not only be useless, but would augment the difficulties of a final adjustment. If Yucatan claims to be an independent power and the U. States upon *her* solicitation, moves in the matter, such movement is equivalent to a recognition of her independance, and furnishes new motive to hatred on the part of Mexico. Is that country in a condition to be thus recognized? Is the Spaniard or the Indian in the mastery? You will remember that a somewhat similar case occurred during our time in regard to St Domingo. The Spanish portion of the Island claimed to be independant of the black sway, and appealed to us to be recognized sovereignty, asking our favor and protection. I believe moreover that it was ready to make an unconditional transfer of itself to the U. States. Our sympathies were strongly enlisted in its behalf, but we did not feel ourselves called upon to obey those sympathies or to involve ourselves in the quarrell. I think the principle of policy which has been observed by the gov^t through all time, not to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, perfectly sound, and I should require a case of commanding character to induce its abandonment. I should certainly not wish to have G. Britain occupying any new position on this

Continent which would give her any additional controul over our trade and commerce, but I apprehend on her part no such interference except upon the express request of Mexico. The surrender of the country so soon as the disturbances should be quieted would seem to follow as a necessary consequence.

Your explanation of Mr. Monroe's declaration is exceedingly valuable. It was necessary to the truth of history. I confess I never before fully understood it. The measures set forth in your speech for your advocacy of Texas annexation are fully sufficient to justify the adoption of that measure, but I confess to the fact that the answer made by Sir Ro. Peel to Mr. Everetts enquiries as to the propositions made by certain persons to G. Britain for pecuniary aid in order to procure the emancipation of slaves in Texas, decided me on the question as it did our lamented friend Mr. Upshur. While the British minister admitted that such proposals had been made, and declared that they had not been countenanced, he nevertheless took occasion *in substance*, also to say that the B. gov^t, would lose no opportunity which might arise, at any time or any where, to urge the subject of emancipation and would exert its best efforts to accomplish it. Seeing then the depressed condition of, not only Texas but Mexico, I could not but consider both the one and the other as accessable to her intrigues and open to her policy. The considerations urged by you in your speech were regarded by Mr. Upshur and myself as inconceivably augmented in the event that this declaration of Sir Ro Peel should with zeal and industry be carried into effect, through the instrumentallity of a treaty of peace between Mexico and Texas. A constant border war would have prevailed in the efforts on the one part to arrest persons flying from labor from Louisiana to Arkansas, and leading to open resistance on the other. And ultimately to war with Texas Mexico and Great Britain on the one side and the U. States on the other. Such a treaty as I have alluded to would have given to G. Britain an absolute controul over the trade of Texas under the stipulations of a commercial treaty—then *easily* to be made—and in a short time have relieved her from all dependance upon us for the supply of cotton. Annexation secured us against these contingencies if it shall have done no more, and for one whatever of vitupera-

tion or abuse I may have suffered I am well content to bear, since the result cannot but be advantageous to the country at large.

With sentiments of the highest respect and truest regard
I am Dr Sir Yrs &c

J. TYLER

From J. H. Howard. C. C.

Columbus June 7th '48

DEAR SIR We have seen enough of political conventions to regard them in almost any other light than safe exponents of the public will. Neither of the great parties can justly claim for their representatives immaculacy in the announcement in the will of the party altho' I did not expect much from our convention I was still disappointed at the feeble support given to Mr Woodbury and really chagrined that he should have met with so little favor from the South. In this abandonment of Woodbury I feel certain our delegations from the South cannot justify themselves from the feelings of their constituents. I will not do injustice to Mr Cass if I know it, but the estimate I have placed upon his political character forces me to the conclusion that he is an unsafe man. I fear he is a mere party majority man, if his party upon a great question should be right, he would be right. And if the party should be wrong he might be then expected to be wrong also. I dread the influence of the majority of his electors if elected at all. We may do better possibly by looking around a little before we give way to the alternative of taking him on the one hand or submitting to the triumph of the whigs on the other. The whig convention will have made their nomination before this reaches you. we cant of course sustain their candidate because if elected by them, he will belong to them. If Mr Clay, Crittenden, McClean [McLean], or Scott should be chosen, Genl Taylor being already in the field will be run and though he is unquestionably very deficient in qualification, his location connected with the circumstances of being rejected by the whigs makes him a safer candidate for the South, and the real constitutional party of the country

than Gen[l] Cass. I have therefore in such event determined to support him. But if the Southern whigs should prevail in the convention as I think they will and force Taylor on the whig party he will be in such bad hands that no democrat ought to trust him. Moreover if he receives the whig nomination and no other candidate is presented he will beat M[r] Cass and beat him badly. In this emergency I propose a bold and prompt movement—the chance of success is remote it is true, but not chimerical. It is to announce you as a candidate for President and M[r] Woodbury for vice president. We can have the ticket started in Georgia, not with the slightest prospect of success but for the purpose of saving Carolina and Newhampshire from taking the initiative. Our ticket of course would command a meagre support—very meagre, when both parties are pledged to their nominations, but Carolina and perhaps Newhampshire too would elect you and may we not from the stubborn opposition of all New England to Taylor expect some aid in that quarter, if no other in all probability our example might bring out Webster, Clay being mortified at the choice of Taylor against a decided majority of the Northern whigs would interpose no objection to his defeat and might also in this general breaking up of the party (which he says has been prophecied in the event that himself was not indicated as the head) consider himself justified in bringing the election into the house. If Taylor is nominated a large body even of Southern whigs who want Clay will consider themselves absolved from any obligations, because Gen[l] Taylor has declared himself a candidate independent of their convention. The elements of discord will run high, and the true constitutional men may profit beyond their expectations by a bold and decisive movement. If we move at all we should do it promptly, before parties settle down in submission to the dictation of their leaders. I remarked we would start the ticket in Georgia, but it would be better for your friends in Newyork to lead off, in this crisis; it would have more influence, but if they will not act promptly we though few in number can do it here. I know nothing of M[r] Woodburys feelings since he has been spoken of for the Presidency, he might not now be willing to run where I have placed him,

you I presume though will be able to inform me and if he will not then let us take Quitman, Persifer Smith[1] Buckhannan if he will accept it or any other prominent man either civil or military who could bring proper aid to the ticket.

I repeat the position which I have laid down, that if Gen[l] Taylor is nominated by the whigs that he will succeed over M[r] Cass if no other candidate is brought out, and the only way the country can escape a whig triumph in the event of *Taylors* nomination is to bring the election into the house, by which my plan can certainly do no harm to the democratic party and may result in much good. As I feel great confidence that if you were returned to the house even by a very low vote, that you would there be chosen in preference to Cass or Taylor. The free exercise of the elective franchise demands that these conventions should be broken down, I would greatly prefer seeing twenty candidates for President than one nominating convention, and the sound public voice of the country will approve of the independence of the man who puts his face against their partizan purposes, or more properly their purposes of *individual* and *selfish* preferment, if we break down the power of the convention by supporting Taylor if the whigs should lay him aside, or yourself in the event Taylor should be nominated we will in either case do essential service to the people of this government, by restoring to them their right of voting. Our preferences under the present odious system are smothered and we are not even allowed to give them utterance, all to avoid an ultimate choice by the house of representatives, which though to be avoided, if the will of the people could be as well expressed through another channel, still has the advantage of constitutional approbation and [is] in no way more objectionable than the present swindling system. If we act at all, we must act promptly.

Yours Respectfully and friendly

JNO. H. HOWARD

P. S. please write me at once, you may rely upon your communication being treated *strictly confidential.*

J. H. H.

[1] Major-General Persifer F. Smith, distinguished in the Mexican war.

From William L. Yancey.[1] C. C.

Montgomery, 21 June, 1848.

DEAR SIR: We have at last started. We have consulted sufficiently to effect a start. Taylor's position in the late Whig convention has thrown into our arms all those Democrats who were for him heretofore. Belser resigns his place on the Taylor electoral ticket. Campbell of Mobile quits his Taylor ground and is with us. Here, Goldthwaite, Elmore, Mayo, Semple, Harris, Belser and kindred spirits are with us. We are raising funds to establish a press here. In that we need aid; but *we will* publish it at all hazards. We will address the people in a manifesto very soon, this week. We will call a mass convention here on the 12 July. At that convention we will nominate the ablest and purest electoral ticket ever put into the field in this State. But upon whom shall we rally for President? Tazewell and Jeff Davis are suggested here? Will they do? Will you write to Tazewell for us? and write me fully your opinions? The skies are brightening. I was despondent a week ago, I am hopeful now. We are all so. We will move in force and effectively.

Yours &c.

W. L. YANCEY.

From J. B. Davis.[2] C. C.

Constantinople July 22d. 1848

MY Dr. SIR Since I have witnessed the hostile feeling of Europe, particularly of England towards the institution of slavery, I have looked with much anxiety to the future in my own country. Our destiny must abide Public opinion. The tide of Public opinion has been setting against us all over Europe, and we have never made an effort to check or aid its ultimate formation. While the Northern fanatic disseminates his falsehoods over the whole world we have not a Journal

[1] William L. Yancey, afterwards famous as a leader of the extreme secessionists and Confederate senator, had been a member of Congress from Alabama from 1844 to 1846, and a member of the Democratic national nominating convention of May, 1848, from which, however, he withdrew when the convention refused to adopt in its platform a proslavery amendment offered by him. Life by J. W. Du Bose.

[2] An American doctor, resident in Constantinople.

that reaches beyond the limits of the United States to contradict and convict him. I made a slow tour through Europe to this place two years ago, and conversed with a great many English and French. Since I have been here, my opportunities have been no less frequent; and I have never conversed with one individual who had any idea of the relative position of master and slave, of their treatment &c; and I have seldom left a man whose opinions and feelings were not entirely changed, or who was not brought to doubt whether the institution of slavery was not a blessing. The subject has been invariably introduced, and the information sought after by them.

The deplorable condition of agriculture in the hot climates of Europe Asia Africa and America, when black slave labour is not employed, illustrates one fact, that no *white* man can labour in the *hot* sun of the South, and the *free black man will not.* The West Indies, at the present moment, is a lesson to the world if they will read it.

The experience I have had in the cultivation of Cotton in Turkey satisfies me that Cotton cannot be made without loss, if *controlable* labour is not used. And that is the extent of slavery in America.

The whole of Europe has ever demonstrated the fact that inasmuch as the white labouring population cannot be educated, and, even in the most degraded state of ignorance ever sensible that they are born equal, and not destined by the Creator to be *always* menial, they are ever on the lookout for change, at any hazard. The consequence is easily seen, that in all *warm* climates, where the poor are always indolent, ignorant vicious and miserable there has been and will be revolution after revolution to the end of time. Temporarily they have and can be kept down by despotic Governments, but this seems now [to have] passed. The *Negro* knows, acts and feels that God has put a mark of inferiority upon him and this of itself secures his individual satisfaction and happiness.

Such facts with the comparative exemption from riot and disorder, and the acknowledged superiority of the educated class in Slave compared with other Countries, have never failed to produce a strong impression on those I have met with, in favour of the institution of slavery.

We have had in Constantinople for some time past Mr. C. Mcfarlane of England,[1] of literary reputation, a man alike distinguished for his general information, for his good sense, and his English politics. He is a thorough Englishman and will sustain English institutions in England while he admires America, and would never wish to see her Government and institutions changed. He has ever held the same opinions as yourself on the subject of slavery. And for the sake of drawing England and America nearer together, and perpetuating by mutual interests and combined power their great and liberal institutions, he is determined to wage war against all fanaticism, to oppose abolitionism in the North, as he has ever condemned emancipation in the West Indies. I have suggested to him and my Brother N. H. Davis now here, an enterprise certainly of no small importance to our country, and one which demands your cordial support viz. to establish an Anglo American paper in London, which is to be the organ of the South on this great subject, as well as of Agriculture, Politics, Commerce and Literature.

I am well assured a more suitable person than Mr Mcfarlane could not be found on the English side. My Brother if he is not himself equal to the task will secure equal abilities from America: but he is of the Carolina school, and looking upon it as a project of great magnitude, he will abide a conference of persons entirely cooperating in this enterprise. I therefore beg your plan of its organization sent here as soon as possible.

MCfarlane thinks that when once started by the People of the South, Merchants and Planters, and recognized as *authority*, it will become a mighty engine in Europe and that a large number of persons of influence are now staggered by the condition of Europe and the West Indies. They consider this apprenticeship a "specious pretext" and are willing to listen to reason.

Very respy. yours &c

J. B. Davis, M. D.

[1] Charles Macfarlane, miscellaneous writer.

From Fitzwilliam Byrdsall. C. C.

New York July 31st. 1848

DEAR SIR, I perceive with great mortification that the defeat of the Senate Territorial Bill in the house, was accomplished by 8 votes from the Slave States. That any 8 members of any party from that section of the Union, could be found to Vote against a measure so essential at this crisis, not only astonishes, but shocks all those feelings connected with the preservation of the co-equality of the States. If those 8 men only knew the state of fanatical sentiment in this section of the Country, they would rather suffer any odium than have voted to give not only a fresh impetus, but an increase to a movement of the most fearful portent to the Southern States. When any of those 8 men meet Phelps of Vermont, or Birdsall of this State, they should feel ashamed enough to wish the ground to sink and cover them up. Surely, surely they cannot be aware of the crusade that is now increasing against the institution of Slavery to a most fearful magnitude in the free States. Even in the New York Custom house there is a strong majority of the Officials, Clerks &c in favor of the Wilmot proviso. Among the Citizens too, it is a common objection that Slaves enter into the Representative basis of the lower house of Congress. This is continually dinned in my ears, both by zealots and moderate men. I meet this objection by the correct remark that as in the north and free states, men, women, aliens, free negroes, and all persons count equally in apportionment for members of Congress—So in the South should all persons whether Slaves or free be equally counted in the representative basis, and that the three fifths arrangement instead of being a Concession to the Slave States, was in fact a concession to the north. But what is truth against prejudice?

If the South cannot maintain its equal rights to the territory of the United States—here then we have the beginning of the end. There is no Constitutional right of the Southern people clearer than their right to go with their property of any kind into the territories of the Union. A man from the North, or from the East, the West or the South, carries with him through the new territories all the rights of person and

of property which he had in the State he left, so far in extent as the same rights are not contrary to the Constitution of the United States. When the territory becomes sufficiently populous to form a State then the people will have the Sovereignty of State Rights and not before. In the meantime the General Government is bound to protect the settlers from the north or the South, in all their rights of person and of property. But Congress has no authority to give the right of Voting in Conquered territory to Indians, negroes, or mixed breeds, in making constitutions or laws to Govern. This appears to me to be common sense View of the Subject.

If the Southern people cannot maintain their equal rights as to their settling in new territory, what other rights under the Constitution can they maintain? If defeated on the Wilmot proviso principle, will the crusade began against them stop at that point? They are self deluded who imagine an affirmative. The ground against the proviso is as strong a fortification as they can stand upon. The Statements of those Whigs and democrats who are now uniting with the Abolitionists, that they mean not to interfere with the Slavery existing in the Slave States are all hollow. The only way to make such statements prove true is to take a stand untill the proviso is defeated. A victory here will preserve all the rest.

Accept the heartfelt respect of

F. W. BYRDSALL.

From Caleb Cushing.[1] C. C.

Newburyport August 26th 1848

Private.

MY DEAR SIR: The recent proceedings at Charleston, and the direction thus given to the political action of the State of South Carolina, embolden me to execute a purpose previously entertained, that of addressing you on the subject of the presidential election.

You will see by the speech of which I enclose a copy, and especially by the part of it beginning at the place marked by

[1] Caleb Cushing, the celebrated jurist and diplomatist, lately a colonel in the Mexican War.

me, that I am among those at the North who struggle for the application of just principles to the common relations of the North and South. I mention this in order to justify what I am about to say.

Parties at the North are now assuming distinctness and organisation, on the basis of one or the other of the three great Conventions of Baltimore, Philadelphia and Buffalo. Of the latter it is unnecessary to speak. As between the other two I entertain a strong belief that it is for the interest of the South to support the nomination of the Baltimore Convention. The friends of that nomination at the North have assumed the grounds of equal justice to the South in the action of the Federal Government; and they alone are doing this as a party, with frankness and decision. Is it not important, then, that they should be assured of the cooperation of the South? If the Southern Democrats break away from the Baltimore nomination, will not the effect be to dishearten and disperse their best friends at the North? So it seems to me; and therefore the decision of the Charleston meeting, in favor of Genl. Cass, gave me very great pleasure. I can assure you that the Buffalo Convention has quite neutralized the effects of the Utica Convention.[1] Mr Van Buren is now regarded as the ally and agent of the Abolitionists. That is to say, the Buffalo Convention has opened the eyes of men to the true tendency and character of the Utica Convention; so that, beyond the State of New York, the democratic party is becoming reunited, instead of being further divided, by the Buffalo Convention.

I have the honor to be Very respectfully and truly Your friend and svt

C Cushing

From H. W. Conner. C. C.

Charleston Septr 28 1848

The Honble Jno. C. Calhoun

I have just returned from the North where I went soon after I saw you in Charleston and found your letter of the 25th inst on my arrival.

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[1] Of the Barnburners.

I notice particularly what you say in regard to the paper and will communicate the views to the parties interested as opportunity offers.

A great change has come over the people of the North since my last annual visit amongst them. Free Soil is now *the universal sentiment of the whole North and East* and has already swallowed up both parties and all orders and classes of people and I can conceive of no sentiment stronger than the determination evinced there to eradicate Slavery from the whole Continent of North America and they mean to do it and will do it regardless of all consequences unless we meet and defeat them before our strength is undermined.

From what I saw I verily believe Van Buren would have been elected upon the free soil movement if both the whig and democratic parties had not at once wrested his ground from him and occupied it themselves. They both now alike claim free soil as being always their true and legitimate ground and are endeavouring to force the Van Buren [*illegible*] off upon the ultra ground of abolitionism and liberty party.

The plan as I understand it with the free soil party is to exclude us from all Territory henceforward and a large portion of the democratic party consisting of the masses, now largely composed of emigrants, and the politicians, are intent upon the absorption of all Mexico Cuba and Canada. The South is of course to be excluded from all, while constant approaches are to be made upon Slavery in the frontier states as Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina and Tennessee with the expectation of the people themselves being brought to emancipate by their own Legislatures under an Amendment of their Constitutions under a Convention of the people and they quote Kentucky and point to Virginia in confirmation of what they propose. But what gave me most concern was to perceive an increasing disregard and disrespect of the South. In fact they are fast loosing all fear and all respect for us for they see us wasting our energies upon petty and pitiful issues when day by day the Factions of the North are drawing the Cordon closer and closer around us. Indeed I am told over and often that you were not the exponent of the feeling and sentiment of the South on the subject of

Slavery and that the people were not with you and would not sustain you in your defence of the institution.

I find a good deal of excitement here about Taylor and Cass, but not a great deal of acrimony—but for the ill temper and indiscretion of a few there would be no great bitterness felt by any. After the election is over I hope differences may be healed.

I leave on Saturday for Georgia and as far as Montgomery Al[a] to return in 10 days and thought I might as well give you the result of my observations at the North as well as you understand the condition of things you would be amazed at the state of feeling now existing North.

yrs H W CONNER

From H. W. Conner. C. C.

Charleston Nov 2[d] 1848

The Honb[le] JOHN C. CALHOUN

I wrote you on the 24th and we have since had our meeting, proceedings of which you will see in this mornings papers.

The 11th resolution was added at the instance of Co[l] Memminger and Co[l] Elmore. They saw me the day before the meeting and expressed a great desire for unanimity on the part of the state. I said the first and most effectual means of producing it was to abandon both Candidates for president and vote unanimously for a third—but it was rejected. They sketched off then—each of them—the form of resolution to be presented to the Legislature on Monday next. I sketched off something also not very different. They said if our resolutions would cover that ground they would form on our platform. I then said it was exactly the ground our resolutions would take except that we had not pledged ourselves to stand by the state of S[o] C[a] tho there was not a man of us but what would do so to the death, in the last resort, tho we counted any separate or independent action of the state—at least for the present or until all efforts for a joint action of the Slave States had failed, as fatal to the very object we were all driving at. I immediately got our committee together and the overture was met in a becoming spirit and the 11th resolution

was the consequence. It embraces all that Co[l] Memminger and Elmore required I believe and I hope it may be considered as the first and successful step towards a harmony amongst us all.

At the same time I must express my belief that there has been and probably still is a design to revive the old Bluffton move and with the same motive and end. I do not think that Co[l] Memminger or Co[l] Elmore favour it at least not as a present mode of action—but Rhett and others do. I do not think it will obtain favour—*I should regret it exceedingly if it did* for I believe the only means efficient and practicable for our purpose is a conciliation or cooperation by some joint action on the part of all the Slave states and *I do feel* great confidence in the practicability of such a combination if the labour and management proper for it is put in play.

I have with a view of at least giving due energy and industry to the object taken the place of chairman of the Corresponding Committee and now have to beg the favour of you to give me your views as to how we should proceed. I wish to start fair and start right and when I have my chart before me, I will put on the sail. Pray write me freely and fully (and in private if you please). I think we may do much if we start right towards producing concert and union amongst the slave states.

About the 1 Dec I expect to go to Georgia, Alabama, Mobile and New Orleans and Apalachicola and I may do much by personal intercourse.

I will not omit attention to your suggestions as to the paper before I go.

Very Truly Yrs &c

H. W. CONNER

From John Cuningham.[1] C. C.

Charleston 12 Nov. 1884

DEAR SIR The pressure of business and private affairs has hitherto prevented my acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 16th ult. Your speech both from its subject mat-

[1] A lawyer in Charleston; the son, it is presumed, of Calhoun's old friend Robert Cuningham.

ter and the junctures of its delivery and publication, has and will produce a profound and general impression on the public mind of the South, and neutralize to some extent the injurious influences of the past election. These last have done much, in that section at least, to rivet upon us party discipline, and give us as controlling guides and tests, party ties and purposes. Nothing can now arrest so well this fatal tendency as a concerted effort by the leaders of both parties at the South to get up a Southern Convention, in compliance with their understanding at Washington and the necessity of the crisis. You have no doubt observed that our party here (those who preferred Taylor to Cass) have since the election reorganized as a "Southern State Rights Republican" party, with a view to such effort, and to break down among ourselves those party influences which are shackling our free and manly resistance as an insulted and injured people.

I regret that I cannot entirely agree with you as to the electoral question. The people of this State are certainly not represented as among themselves in the election of electors, according to their federal relations, and upon the federal basis of representation. I have inclined to the opinion also that the present mode of appointment in this State or this feature of it was not only not contemplated by the Constitution for this reason, but because—, in view of the representation of both the popular numbers and of the State Sovereignties in the Presidency, the people should have a direct choice, at least in proportion to their direct share in that representation. It is in addition a fact that our people now desire and will insist upon having the appointment of the electors. Waiving then the question of constitutionality dependent upon the words of the Constitution, I gave my consent at the last election for the above reasons to the proposed change. I did so reluctantly however, as I admire and would cherish the conservative working of the present system in our State. But as to the time of the change I am uncommitted and feel no urgency. If it will at all interfere with our entire concentration of mind and purpose upon the great issue as to slavery and our right, it should by all means be postponed. I shall certainly not urge it immediately, and shall aid in keeping down all excitement and wrangling as to it. But there will probably be none, if urged at each ensuing session of the Legislature.

The Majority of the House of Representatives is so large and fixed in favor of the change, that action will be taken without debate. I am informed there is also now a majority in the Senate, and that it will take the same course. No popular agitation will probably occur under four and at least not under two years. A proposition for the change will be brought before the next Legislature. I think it will be impossible to prevent it. Nothing but the danger now threatening Southern institutions and a fear of distraction could do it. But I am also satisfied that the deep conviction of the necessity of Southern action and union, is so strong in our people, that nothing can distract them from pursuing with prompt vigor any course that may appear to them as proper and effective, and of which they are duly advised. The late Congressional elections at the North warn us that the Wilmot-Proviso will be applied to our entire territory; and that if we resist successfully we must do so now.

Floride was confined with a son a fortnight since. Both are doing well. She joins me in the kindest regards to yourself and family. We hope to see you soon, as you pass on to Washington.

It would give me great gratification and assistance to hear from you as to any of the questions, general or local, that may agitate the State or Nation.

Yours most Sincerely

JOHN CUNINGHAM.

From John Tyler. C. C.

Sherwood Forest Jan. 2. 1849

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 6 Nov. covering the statement which I forwarded you of our last hours on Texas annexation reached me in due season, and I made your suggestions of change the basis of a new statement to the other members of the Cabinet.[1] I feel satisfied that you are mistaken in fixing on Sunday as the day of our first interview after my approval of the resolutions. The Cabinet Council was held on Sunday, and our interview was on Saturday.

[1] The statement in the revised form may be seen in Tyler's Letters and Times of the Tylers, II, 364, 365.

But in the new statement I have adopted the use of the *day* of the month in place of the *day* of the week—thus—"The resolutions reached me on the 1. day of March 1845. My official term expired on the 4th day of the same month—after my approval had been given to the resolutions Mr. Calhoun the Secretary of State called on me, &c &c" and what follows is made to conform throughout. I enclose you the reformed statement which you will find to be modified according to your suggestions. Bibb, Nelson and Wickliffe substantially concur. From Mason and Wilkins I remain to hear. By the by Wickliffe gives me a fact of which I was ignorant—viz. that Mr. Polk without loss of time after his inauguration wrote Donelson to suspend all action on our instructions until he D. should receive further instructions. He says Donelson shewed him the letter when he W. was in Texas, and doubts not but that it would be found among the Texan archives of Legation. He states his belief that the letter was not marked confidential, but still does not wish his name to be mentioned in connexion with it. Had you any knowledge of this? Yes My Dr. Sir it was "the midnight messenger" that secured annexation. Anson Jones is a potent witness to establish the fact. The fact is that that movement controuled two Cabinets, that of U. S. and that of Texas.

I perceive that the abolitionists are in the lead among you in Congress, and how the matters are to terminate the future will disclose. One thing is quite obvious that old parties are changing their affinities and that legislation is in future more to be contrould by sections than principles.

Tendering you the congratulations incident to the season

I am Dr Sir Truly Yrs

JOHN TYLER

From H. W. Conner. C. C.

Charleston Jany 12, 1849

The Hon'ble JCHN C CALHOUN

I reached home last night and hasten to give you the result of my observations South and West

The people of Georgia of both parties are up to the mark and ready to act, but may not take the lead but they consider the issue as inevitable and the sooner it is made the better.

Savannah and Augusta less true than the Country owing to the northern population. Alabama, the Eastern part of it are sound and to the point, their Leading men, as Goldthwaite Yancey, Elmore Belser and others understand the subject and the remedy well.

The Northern part of Alabama and the West I can speak of only from hearsay. The North I think is a good deal governed by party. The West are with us so are the South except at Mobile where they are divided, the northern population being as they always are against us. The people of Alabama as a whole are with us in every thing but the difficulty is with the politicians and the parties. What one side proposes the other opposes.

I fear for Louisiana. New Orleans is almost Free Soil in their opinions. The populations is one half Northern agents another ¼ or ⅓ are Foreigners. The remnant are Creoles who cannot be made to comprehend their danger until the negroes are being taken out of the fields. They would then fight furiously. The theory there too is that by restricting slavery to its present bounds the Lands and negroes of Louisiana would be enhanced in value. I was told however by some persons whose opinions I had great respect for (they were of the Senate of that state and planters) that the country was sound and altho they would not make any noise by resolutions or otherwise, they would be found in line when the time for acting came. Louisiana will be the last if at all to strike for the defence of the South.

In Florida I was no where but at Apalachicola. They are all Northern agents there but Florida is right.

The cities all of them are becoming daily more and more unsound and uncertain and all for the same reason. The infusion of Northerners and Foreigners amongst them and their influence is being felt in the interior. The draymen and labourers of New Orleans are all White and Foreigners and they will not let a negroe drive a dray. He would be mobbed or killed. The Steam Boats are all employing white servants and their captains are mostly Northerners and the issue of the Free labour against Slave labour will soon be made at the South.

Our own people many of them are desponding. They begin

to think that the Institution of Slavery is doomed. That all the world is opposed to it and that we ourselves will not or cannot do any thing to avert it. As yet it has been all talk and no action, and the majority at the North becoming daily more and more decided.

Here to my mind is *the only danger* of the South, and I have heard and seen the feeling of despondency expressed with shame and sorrow. I blushed for my countrymen when I saw them ready to cower before the storm. Our slaves themselves are becoming arrogant from the knowledge of this feeling and will soon be troublesome. The feeling is not general however but it is on the increase.

From all I have seen and learned *I am more convinced than ever of the vital importance of prompt decided and efficient action on the part of the South.* The mode of action the wise and the patriotic must determine on, whatever is done should be calmly considerately and wisely considered and the plan of execution well arranged but above all on the execution, the action should be *bold, determined* and decisive. This is necessary to give confidence—it is necessary every way for success and without it we are lost. We must show ourselves able and willing to defend ourselves before we can obtain the support of our friends or the respect or fear of our adversaries.

My whole theory so far as I am concerned is wise and deliberate, but bold and determined action and with the least possible delay.

My movements have been so rapid that I have fallen behind the current of events. I see however that the Southern members held a meeting on the 15th whatever is determined on, each member should exert himself to procure a prompt response from his own district—a simultaneous movement can be obtained in that way. I may write soon again regarding Genl. Taylor

Yrs H. W. CONNER

From William P. Duval.[1] C. C.

Tallahasee, Feby 13th 1849

MY DEAR [SIR] I was deeply distressed to see announced in the public prints the sudden attack, which assailed you in the

[1] William P. Duval, territorial governor of Florida from 1822 to 1834.

Senate, and I pray to god your health did not materially suffer, by its continuance. I believed at the time, (as I now do,) the sudden attack resulted from the distressing and alarming and perilous condition of the union. The deep anxiety and the awful consequences, springing from a settled determination of the enemies of the South, to violate the constitution to the destruction of our sacred rights no doubt was the cause of your illness

I have just risen from a bed of sickness, and my mind and blood are cool and temperate. I would do much to preserve the union but cannot submit to the degradation and insult, and the violation of Southern rights, to preserve a disgraceful confederacy. I have read more than once your report recently made to the meeting or convention of the Southern members of congress. It is all it should be clear, forceable and temperate. It is such a report as will stand the scrutiny of the wisest heads of the nation. I have given strict attention to Mr. Berrian's report, which is in fact yours, with the strength and spirit extracted, so as to leave little better than stale beer. The time has passed for conciliation, this has too long been the mistaken policy of the South

For one I am ready to meet the worse that can now Occur. My native State Virginia has stood forward nobly and under her lead the South will rally in spite of the trators that stolen into her confidence and now like scorpions are stinging her bosom. Virginia has an immense store of arms and she will distribute them to sustain the South. When the time shall come (and I fear it is near) I will return to my native state,[1] and leave nothing undone to procure 1200 stand of arms for a corps that I will raise and command in this State, and hold ready to march to any point where their services may be required.

If our slaves must wrongfull[y] be taken from us, we will try and settle them in the North, we will give them freedom and let them conquer our enemies, and give them their cities and country that they may win by their arms. The coloured race will have much to encourage them in this attempt [toward] freedom, a country they can call their own, wealth and honor the result.

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[1] Virginia.

Able leaders, discipline and arms will carry that destruction and ruin to our enemies that they are preparing for us. The fancied security of the North may be shattered by a volcano—over which they little dream they are preparing for themselves. I rejoice to see so many of the Southern members uniting on your report, and if further action is determined on by our Southern friends, I am ready to act with them at all hazzards.

I see Mr. Clay is elected to your senate, he goes their I fear for evil—for good, he has never sought for in the last 20 years. Gen[l]. Cass too is returned I am glad of this, as he will now shew whether his professions are as sincere, as I believe them to be. I sacrificed my election to congress, to sustain him, from the conviction he stood firmly by the constitutional rights of the South. Could I have sustained Gen[l]. Taylor, no man in this state could have defeated my election. I have never sacrificed principle for office. I go for my Country and her honor and rights, and prefer defeat on principles, than honor and office, without them.

Let me hear of your health, and let me also have your opinion of the *hope* or *prospect* of any compromise of the all engrossing question of slavery.

I trust providence will preserve your health and enable you to bring to a favorable issue the agitating and dangerous controversy that so seriously threatens the perpetuity of our Union

Your friend Wm. P. Duval

From James H. Hammond. C. C.

Silver Bluff 19 Feb, 1849

My Dear Sir I enclose you a copy of my letter to the Scotch Presbytery[1] and also return you M[r]. Jackson's letter which I thank you for sending me that I might see his agreeable compliment to me.

I have read with great satisfaction your very judicious and forcible Address to the Southern People[2] and am sanguine that

[1] Probably the Letter of Gov. Hammond to the Free Church in Glasgow, on the Subject of Slavery, Columbia, 1844.

[2] Works, VI, 285-313.

it will have a more Salutary influence among them than it had with a portion of their Representatives. Living in the woods here and passing a great portion of my time in the heart of Swamps I am reclaiming as a forlorn agricultural hope—I hear less than almost any one of what is said even among our own people and know little more of public sentiment here than you do at Washington. But my opinion has long been that the discussion of the Abolition question has eased nearly every conscience in the South about holding Slaves, and that Self-interest will prompt us almost to a man to go through any Struggle and risk any change rather than emancipate them in any way, much less on our own soil. The few trading politicians of the South who have sold themselves and would of course without hesitation sell us and our wives and children for their own promotion, will therefore have a fearful reckoning when it becomes apparent to *all* the people that the crisis has actually arrived. Your Address is well calculated to awaken them, and the conduct of the Abolitionists in Congress is daily giving it powerful aid. I look with perfect certainty to see the Storm rise before long and when it does rise there can be but one result—a dissolution. For the Free States can then hardly be brought to give us those stringent and humiliating guarantees to keep the peace which we shall imperatively and *imperiously* demand. I know that the value of the Union is now calculated hourly in every corner in the South, for I rarely get into a coterie even in the Streets of Augusta—a Yankee town you know—but it is discussed. The conviction too is growing rapidly, if I may judge from what I hear from time to time in these discussions that the union has always been and always will be a disadvantage to us and that the sooner we can get rid of it the better. I have thought this myself for twenty years, but where I met one five years ago who agreed with me, I now meet fifty. There are indubitable signs. I did think that if there could be an Organization of Southern Members of Congress and an agreement to act there in concert on the subject, it might alarm the North and even arrest abolition movements for a long time to come. If this could be done, rather than have a Revolution, I would be willing to tolerate the Union for my time: and having occasion to write to Judge Bayley last summer I vehemently

urged him to attempt such organization. I will own that the result of your late effort has surprised me. I had been startled by the treachery of some Southern Members both whigs and democrats at the close of the last Session. But I would not allow myself to believe, though I feared and sometimes said, there was considerable defection among our politicians. I knew too that no Southern man could maintain out and out the essential Whig principles of Clay and the North, without being wholly false to the South. But that the Whigs in a body and so many democrats too should *desert* us on *this* question so palpably and promptly I did not expect. But I see through it. The fate of the Union is sealed. It is the order—the decree of Providence. Looking as for sometime past I have done altogether to generals and not details in political affairs, it appears to me that this signal failure to adopt the only measure which could give us security in the Union reveals the design of God to sever the Union—to rescue us from the licentious Sodom of Northern Mobocracy and raise us to that position which our vast resources physical and moral will enable us to maintain. If this is not the design, then the Knell of *our* fate has tolled, disunited and distracted it is we who are to bow our heads to the destroying Angel. But I do not believe that such is our destiny. We have not merited it. Its consummation would throw civilization backwards a century or more. In the midst of the daily Strife and high excitement of your position you will probably smile at a semi-superstitious philosophy like this. But I will candidly own that I have come to the solving of all great Moral Problems by tracing through them as well as I am able, the Designs of a Power far above ourselves. I look calmly therefore at the events in Washington, and do not doubt that they will prove the means of working good. Let the Abolitionists press forward. It is our duty so far as we can see *clearly* to oppose them at every step. But we must not be disheartened by *apparent* defeats, but address ourselves to the greater and daily more obvious duty of preparing to shake them off altogether.

Very Sincerel. Yours

J. H. HAMMOND

From Hilliard M. Judge.[1] C. C.

Eutaw, 29th Apl. 1849.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 15th. ultimo has just been received, and I regret you did not receive the paper I sent you. If I can procure another copy, I will send it to you, as I desire very much that you should see the article alluded to.

The immediate object of this letter is to inform you of an attempt, which is being made, to destroy your influence in this state, by secretly circulating an abominable falsehood, well calculated to deceive the unwary and produce the most injurious effect upon the great Southern question. I have it, not directly, but through the most undoubted authority, that Mr. Houston[2] of this State defends himself for not signing "the Southern Address," by stating that the Slavery question is agitated alone for party purposes and party effect, and in evidence of that fact, says, you told Mr. Douglass of Illinois, during the discussion of the California bill—"that it would never do to settle this question of slavery—that its agitation was necessary to the success of the Democratic Party in the South." He referred his hearer (Judge Wallace of Tuscaloosa) to the Hon Mr Hilliard of Montgomery, in corroboration of what he stated.

The object of this statement is clear—those Southern Whigs and democrats who betrayed their Constituents, seek to defend themselves by assailing you, in whom the whole South, without distinction of party, have the most unlimited Confidence.

It is part and parcel of the attack made upon you by that base sot and demagogue, Senator Houston,[3] urged on, doubtless, by Senator Benton, whose sympathies are wholly with the Abolitionists.

Those Whig members of Congress who have betrayed their Constituents and the South, from love of party and spoils, have united in the attack, as evidenced by Mr Houston of this State referring to Mr Hilliard for support and corroboration. Whether or not this statement ought to be Contradicted, you best know, but I can say to you, it has gained no credence from any person of intelligence, with whom I have conversed,

[1] A supporter of Calhoun in Alabama.
[2] George L. Houston, M. C.
[3] General Sam Houston, at this time Senator from Texas.

of either party, yet, at the same time, ignorant persons in the other portions of the South may be deluded by it.

Almost all Counties of South Alabama have responded most emphatically "to the Southern Address" without distinction of party. North Alabama is much less interested and will be slow in her action, yet I think she will follow the lead of the Southern portion of the State. A favorable omen of public opinion there, is furnished by Houston's refusal to be a Candidate for re-election. Hilliard will be beaten in his District, by a Whig or Democrat who is sound, as may seem best calculated to accomplish this result.

Judge Goldthwaite of Montgomery is arousing public attention to this great question, in the best manner that it can possibly be done, viz. by charging the grand-jurys in his Circuit, in an able manner upon the subject.

The effect is most admirable upon the ignorant portion of the people, from the Color of authority under which it is done. The great difficulty is to make the Masses see beyond their noses—they do not see and feel that the necessary consequence of allowing all the outposts of Slavery to be carried, involves a certain destruction of the Citadel itself.

The public mind is rapidly being prepared for what must come at last—the dissolution of the Union, *but we must have time.* Let the Legislatures speak out in support of Va, as they will all do—let them all be *committed* to the principle of resistance, and then, when the time does come for action, they will be prepared to defend their rights to the last extremity.

Let South Carolina hold back—a little, until her more Slothful Sisters can be equally well instructed in their rights and duty under the present emergency, the whole South will then present an unbroken front, and thus accomplish peacably what we desire! This delay is not so necessary for Alabama as for the more Western States, for next to South Carolina, Alabama is better prepared for resistance than any other Southern State.

Your suggestion, as to the necessity of a Convention of the Southern States is perfectly obvious. We cannot get along in any other way—the North will not be deterred from her course of wanton agression by resolutions of the State Legislatures, but let the Legislatures first declare the principle and

the people of the States can give them force and effect in Convention.

Our Corn and Cotton crops were destroyed entirely by a frost on the 15th ultimo, also all the wheat North of this County. This is the second time our cotton has been killed during this Spring, which has caused an unusual demand for Cotton Seed—the next crop cannot possibly be a full one.

I have the honor to remain Your friend and obdt Servt

HILLIARD M. JUDGE

From Herschel V. Johnson.[1] C. C.

Milledgeville, Ga. July 20th, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR, The perusal of your reply to Col. Benton has afforded me the most heartfelt satisfaction. It is so lucid, so simple and yet so powerful, and so overwhelming, that it will produce a deep impression upon the Country, and consign your insolvent assailant to that infamy which traitors deserve. I have read it, and thrice read it; and there is but a solitary remark which I would be willing to see stricken from it. That is "If it did not", (i. e. Texas did not extend to the Rio Grande) "the war stands without justification. If it did not, the march of our army to the Rio Grande was an invasion of a neighboring Country unauthorised by the Constitution or law". I have always differed with you on this subject. I believe the war can be triumphantly vindicated, even admitting that Texas did not extend to the Rio Grande. Still your remarks on this point, in exposition of Benton's inconsistency are strictly true and unanswerable. The only reason I have for feeling any regret at the expressions above quoted, is, that I fear there may be those so very sensitive of Mr. Polk's reputation, that they will seize hold of it, with the view, if possible, of arraying the prejudices of that class of politicians against you. I feel nothing of this myself, and I can fully appreciate the honesty, with which you entertain your opinions, in reference to the war. But who can satisfy Captious faultfinders? No one need attempt it. Your reply

[1] Herschel V. Johnson, judge of the superior court of Georgia, was afterward governor of that state, candidate for Vice-President on the Douglas ticket in 1860, and a Confederate senator.

will win its way to victory, against all prejudices and silly hypercriticism. Truth is mighty and will prevail. The press, thus far, has spoken of it in terms of unqualified approbation. I trust the South will be awakened from her lethargy.

Our Democratic State Convention came off, according to appointment on the 11th inst. It was a very large assemblage and distinguished for weight of character and intelligence. For the sake of harmony, the subject of the Southern Address was not touched. It would have torn us to atoms, without giving us any strength. We adopted the Virginia Resolutions unanimously; and I think we went a little further on the doctrine of non-interference than any other convention in the South (except Carolina) has gone. We not only denied the power of Congress to establish or prohibit slavery in the territories, but denied also the power to ratify any act of a territorial legislature having such an object. There is much excitement in the Democratic party of this State upon the slavery question. The great mass is obviously with the signers; and in order to remove the distrust, which the non-signers feel is felt towards them, there was no hesitation in adopting the Virginia Resolutions.

But notwithstanding these demonstrations, I entertain gloomy forebodings. I seriously fear that the people of the South are not properly awake to the danger,—not thoroughly nerved to united resistance.

What do you think will be the course of the next Congress? It is said that Gen. Taylor has sent on a Commissioner to California to urge and assist the people to make a Constitution preliminary to admission into the Union. If this be true, it shadows forth pretty distinctly the policy of the administration. It will be to bring in California and thus avoid the Wilmot Proviso. In the Consummation of this policy the non-signing Democrats will vigorously cooperate. This is but a circuitous mode of cheating the South out of her rights and gaining the object of the Provisoists. But how can we help ourselves? Suppose California presents her Constitution at the next Session and demands admittance, how can the South object? We admit the right of the people in forming a State Constitution to establish or eschew Slavery. Then, ought we to oppose And how? But California being admit-

ted, what becomes of New Mexico? It still leaves the question all open. It seems to me, that before the South Consents to the admission of California, we ought to demand a just compromise as to New Mexico, and a total abandonment on the part of the North, of their aggressions in respect to the District and slavery in the States. Now is the time for a settlement in full. If we yield now, we are gone. Concession will invite further insult; and we shall ultimately lose our self respect and become worthy of our degraded fate. How dark the future looks! If you have time drop me a word on these points. I want light and desire to know the views of our sage statesmen.

Very sincerely yours &c.

H. V. JOHNSON.

From R. K. Crallé. C. C.

Lynchburg, July 25th. 1849.

MY DEAR SIR: I received last night, and read with great pleasure your reply to Benton.[1] An extract from it had previously reached us; and expecting the residue, a large number of persons gathered around the Post Office on the arrival of the mail on yesterday. Curses, deep and bitter were uttered against the Traitor; and some who, for years, have been your steady enemies, came up to congratulate me on the triumphant defence. It seems to me that it must surely overwhelm the scoundrel even in Missouri. In this State I am sure he will not have an advocate, whatever may be the effect of his desertion in the Free States. But even there it seems to me his piratical cruise will not be rewarded with a single prize. It is obvious that neither Cass nor Van Buren are prepared to give way, especially in favour of one who, in the effort to intrude on their own peculiar Territory, hazards if [he] do[es] not sacrifice his title to his own. He has undoubtedly overreached himself; and his fate will be as you predict; tho', from present appearances, it is to be feared he will carry his own State. What effect your reply will have there remains to be seen. It will certainly weaken him no little.

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[1] See Niles's Register, LXXV. 390-396.

I was at first inclined to think that you should not dignify him with a notice; but subsequent reflection convinces me you have pursued the right course, *placing the reply on the grounds you do.* In this respect the subject is divested, in a great measure, of its mere personal character and bearing, and brings up to view more distinctly to the public the true issue which lies behind the gauze-work of the scoundrel's malignity. I think it will, more than any other Paper the public has yet seen, bring the people to consider the true question which is pending—a question not between Whig and Democrat, but between the *North* and the *South.* I hope it will tend no little to unite and consolidate public sentiment in the latter; tho' this, in the present state of Parties, seems almost impracticable. As to Virginia, I am almost hopeless. The *interests* of the leaders of both Parties are in dissolubly connected with the Federal *Treasury;* and, of course, opposed to the assertion of any principles, or the adoption of any course of action which, by hazarding what they call "*the Union*", put in jeopardy their hopes of preferment and plunder. It is not their *patriotism* but their *love of pelf* which would prompt them to submit to any and every usurpation and outrage, rather than hazard their chances of advancement. These, through the machinery of Party, have got the People under absolute controul. The course of the last Legislature was, I fear, a mere *ruse de guerre*, a manouvre of Party. Neither Party acted in good faith; and neither I fear will venture to come up to the principles avowed in the Resolutions. Indeed, had the action on the Resolutions been postponed until after the result of the meeting in Washington was known, I am sure they would not have received the votes of a dozen Whigs. On the other hand the design of the Democrats was to force their opponents into a false position, while they covered their own past treachery to the South. In short, Sir, should the Wilmot Proviso be passed, nay, should Congress next proceed to abolish Slavery in the District, and the trade between the States, I am compelled to say, with feelings of deep mortification, that Virginia, after a few patriotic groans, will submit. She is already deeply infected with the spirit of abolitionism, much more deeply than most persons think; and I have no doubt our Leaders—who, for the most part, are

mere Pensioners of the Federal Government in *esse* or in *fieri* will take advantage of the circumstances to make such *compromises* hereafter as they have made heretofore. The result of the last election affords no fair criterion of popular sentiment, except in some portions east of the mountains. Pendleton, Butts, and Flournoy may show that sentiment in their respective districts, but McDowell, by far the most unsound and dangerous of the whole Delegation, reflects but too faithfully the sentiments of the West generally.

With these opinions I fear that when the occasion shall call for decisive action, South Carolina will have to look to the States still further South for support; for, with the lights at present before me, she will not be sustained by Virginia; and, *if not sustained* she will be hunted down, as is usual in such cases, with the tiger vengeance that always characterizes the Traitor. At this moment I am sure the leading Editors of the two Parties in Virg^a^. hate the People of S. Carolina with a more intense spirit than Garrison, Tappan or Giddings; and for the obvious reason that their conduct is a standing reproach on their own venality and treachery. They are, as they have always been, only looking to President making. Does not the late letter of Cass to Ritchie show that, under the rose, the game of delusion is still going on? Is it not manifest that ancient political jockey is still rubbing down his spavined steed for a second heat? And will he or those whom he controuls ever stop to inquire about rights or principles, when place and plunder to the amount of millions per. an. depend upon the result of a Presidential election?

Still, if some State do not act we are irretrievably lost; we and our children. There are yet seven thousand men in Virginia who have not bowed the knee to Baal, and I am certain that in whatever course S Carolina may determine to take, in the last resort, she will find a cooperation which will render it no easy matter to crush her. Should the Wilmot Proviso pass, or any kindred measure, I am clear that a Convention of the People should be called immediately, and recommend a General Convention of the Southern States at an early day to take the whole matter into consideration; and on failure to procure such concurrence, to take steps for

their own individual safety. But I am digressing far from the matter which led me to take up the pen. . . .

Truly yours

R. K. CRALLÉ

From J. L. O'Sullivan.[1] C. C.

(Confidential.) Atlanta, Ga. Aug. 24, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR, Within a period now counting by days and no longer by months and weeks, the flag of Cuban Independence will be raised.

The people of the Island are ripe and ready in point of opinion and feeling; but, timid and overborne by the military despotism under which they have been so long accustomed to cower, they will of course need a respectable *point d' appui*, to induce them to dare to come out. With such a *point d' appui*, moreover, there is little doubt that a large part if not the whole of the Spanish troops would fraternize with the Revolution. Probably less than 1000 will land under Gen. Lopez.

You are aware of the standing threat of the Spanish Gov't, to make a San Domingo of Cuba if necessary to keep it.

The South ought (according to an expression which Gen. Lopez has quoted to me from you) to flock down there in "open boats", the moment they hear the tocsin. They will hear it very soon. Will they fulfil this expectation? The answer is of supreme importance. They ought not only to go, but *to go at once.* I write to you (being myself deeply interested in the movement, and now on my way to New Orleans on business connected with) in the hope that you will appreciate at once the thousand and powerful reasons which seem to me to apply to your position, to cause you to strain every nerve at this moment for the promotion of the object. At every considerable point in the South volunteers ought to come forward, and go forward in their own modes. It can easily be done legally. They can go as emigrants, California adventurers *via* Cuba, passengers going to Cuba to see for themselves, and determine there to which side to offer their

[1] J. L. O'Sullivan was formerly the proprietor of the Democratic Review. This letter relates to the Cuban enterprise commonly called the Round Island expedition.

aid, or to be prepared to act as a neutral police force against servile insurrection in case of danger from the convulsed state of the Island between the two contending parties. Probably the friends of the Revolution can afford them transportation from New Orleans, Charleston, Norfolk or other points, but on this point there can be no practical difficulty. Now, my dear sir, can not you write to fifty points and fifty proper persons to act and act with the requisite energy, promptitude, head and heart, in this matter? Your aid thus extended would be a tower of strength. All going may rely on generous compensation from opulent Cuba, once liberated. But independent of such motives there are considerations enough of a different character which I should think ought to rouse all the youth and manhood of the Southern States in particular to rush down to help the Cuban Revolution.

I shall be for a week at New Orleans, where I hope to have the pleasure of hearing from you. This letter is hastily scrawled in the short interval afforded by detention of the cars.

Very Respectfully and Truly, My dear Sir, Your friend and servant,

J. L. O'SULLIVAN.

If I, a "New York Free Soiler" am so deeply interested in behalf of this movement, what ought not to be the enthusiasm of Southern gentlemen?

From Rose Greenhow.[1] C. C.

Washington, August 29th, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR . . . Your letter to Mr. Greenhow has arrived yesterday. Now I must tell you of the progress of the Cuba affair. The main spring or mover in the matter has just left me, having taken a parting breakfast, before starting on the perilous undertaking. The expedition will sail on Saturday, that is to say a steamer with a thousand men from

[1] Mrs. Greenhow, who writes on account of her husband's illness, was the wife of Robert Greenhow; he was translator to the Department of State from 1828 to 1850, and wrote an important report on the discovery of Oregon (1840) and a valued History of Oregon and California. The reference is to the Round Island expedition for the liberation of Cuba.

New York or some point North, with one part of the forces, and a steamer of a thousand ton with 12 or 15 hundred more, from New Orleans simultaneously, well armed and equiped composed of picked men, and officers, ready for the perils the profits and honours of the venture. We think that all the elements of success are with them, as every chance has been calculated and every thing which prudence and forethought could suggest done to ensure full success. The Government here are in *the secret* and have done no more in the matter of the *Proclamation* than *regard for appearances demanded.* The first fifteen days is the time of trial, and they invite the moral aid, of all true hearts, who desire the incorporation of that ocean gem, in our sisterhood of States—and of all who sympathize with a people groaning under the yoke of tyranny, determined to achieve freedom or die in the struggle.

From Henry S. Foote.[1] C. C.

Warrenton. September 25th 1849

My dear Sir; I am gratified to have it within my power to inform you that several leading gentlemen of both the two great political parties in Mississippi, have promised me at our approaching Convention, to act upon your suggestion relative to the recommendation of a Southern Convention. Very recently I have received information from all parts of Missouri touching Mr Bentons movements there, and assuring me of his certain defeat. Among others, Atcheson writes that his overthrow is beyond doubt. Judge Morrow, Mr Treat, and several prominent men besides, write to the same effect. I am invited, as I suppose you are, to the St. Louis Rail-road Convention, and am specially urged to attend by friends who declare their conviction that Mr Benton's plan would be negatived, and none other adopted. It is also declared to be the wish of several that I should address the citizens of St. Louis in opposition to Mr Bentons plan and operations generally. I should willingly comply with both invitations, but I am not certain, or even confident of any such good effects as seem to be anticipated. Were I sure of your attending, which I think you could do with great advantage to the common cause, I

[1] Henry S. Foote (1800-1880) was a Unionist senator from Mississippi from 1847 to 1852, and subsequently governor of the state and Confederate Congressman.

would contrive to meet you, and encounter all the coarser work of the occasion. It would be a great thing to overthrow him, at home, and blow up his Humbug project, in presence of his own constituents.

Several movements which you cannot fail to have perceived, seemed to indicate that the policy of the Administration is to settle the Wilmot Proviso question by admitting California and N. Mexico both as states, upon the formal application next winter. I confess that my mind inclines favorably to the scheme, so far as California is concerned. It appears to me though, that N. Mexico would hardly be ready to enter the Union so early, as my information is that there are not more than five hundred Americans there altogether. I am not inclined to move precipitately in the affair at all: and after all that has occurred, should deem it highly indiscreet to take any important step save in full counsel with yourself and others of the South whom I could name. If California could be brought into the Union under Southern auspices, and provision made for the admission of N. Mexico when a sufficient number of persons of American birth shall be ascertained to have become resident therein; all legislation on the subject of slavery, either by Congress or Territorial legislatures being in the meantime precluded, it seems to me that the honor of the South would be saved, and the population of both the territories so effectually conciliated as might in time lead to most advantageous result. Some such plan as this matured at once and announced about the time of the Missouri Convention, next month, would blow Bentonism *sky-high;* quiet and save the Republic, and sweep away the demagoguism of the present house forever. I do not urge these things upon you. I only suggest them. Whatever is done hereafter in the settlement of this question, I am desirous, for various reasons, should be done under your lead; but I am willing to perform any subordinate part of the good work which may be assigned me. I write in great haste, and under the pressure both of bodily disease, and of mental anguish from the decease of several very dear relatives in the neighborhood which has recently taken place.

I remain most cordially

H S Foote

From A. Hutchinson. C. C.

Jackson Oct 5, 1849.

Hon. JOHN C CALHOUN. Two of your letters to Gen Foote were enclosed to me, to be used according to my discretion on the question of the crisis. That suggesting a Southern Convention was shown by me to our mutual friends Ch. Justice Sharkey[1] and Judge Clifton, who, altho Whigs are well up to Southern rights. We adopted the idea with ardor, but all concurred in opinion, that if we should proceed on a course recommended from S. Carolina, we should fail. The idea of a Southern Convention had previously occurred here—but you may well appreciate how much your opinion strengthened confirmed and animated us. I dropped a note to Gen Foote stating that it had occurred *in Mississippi* that a Southern Convention was the important action required. You will understand this.

In the Mississippian of this date, on its second page, you will find the action of one of the Southern States in Convention, recommending a Convention of the Fifteen Southern States, appointing 12 delegates, with alternates, on the ration that we have two Senators and four representatives in Congress, being six and that both of the two great political parties should be equally represented. Sharkey and myself thought Washington was the best place of the assemblage; but the majority preferred Nashville as more *central!* All agreed that February or March was the time, but here the majority believed that it would require until the 1st of June to enable the Southern States to act.

There were four or five resolutions concerning the exclusion of California, until organized according to the Constitution; but this, not on principle, but as to detail (fact and law) became a theme of prolonged debate; and the Convention, (impatient to adjourn after three days session,) laid them all aside and appointed a committee to prepare an address to the South, in which it has been agreed that this subject will be submitted to the Southern People and their Convention.

If the Southern States shall gather around Mississippi and support her the Constitution and the Union will be rescued from the hands of madmen and traitors.

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[1] William L. Sharkey, chief-justice of Mississippi.

This is the utmost joint action we could obtain. Virginia (my state) I hope will first act, then Alabama, then Louisiana, then Tennessee and Kentucky, then Arkansas, then N. Carolina, then *South Carolina*, and then the *martyred* state of Georgia and the rest. This however is only my wish, the reasons for which I could explain.[1] I trust that our effort will be duly hailed by your nullifying state! Our movement is attempted to be maligned as one of nullification! I am now encouraged to hope that the coalition of the North will soon be compelled to recede and disband. Then politics have too long turned on our affairs: too long has denunciation and actual war upon our agricultural institutions been their theme and agitation.

I am with the highest esteem

A. HUTCHINSON.

From Reuben Chapman.[2] C. C.

Montgomery Ala Oct 19th 1849

Private

DEAR SIR; The legislature of this state will meet here in a few weeks (2nd Monday in next Nov) and as my message I believe will be the first since the adjournment of Congress from any executive of a slave holding state, I am as solicitous as it is certainly important for the interest of the South, that the question now at issue between the Southern and Northern portions of the Confederacy shall be presented as strongly as the nature of a message will allow.

I avail myself therefore of my long acquaintance with you, and your own knowledge of my opinion and course in all questions of this sort in Congress to ask your views as briefly as you may think proper upon the following points. 1st Is not the power of Congress over the territories and public lands within the states identically the same in kind and degree?

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[1] The second Washington, at his own table, after his election and before he was conducted to the Capitol as the most renowned specimen of a nation's humiliation, said to his guests, in reference to the extension of the area of slavery, to which he was opposed, that "If Mr. C. sneezed S. C. would sneeze." A Southern bishop present told him that "Virginia would sneeze first," etc. (Footnote in the original.)

[2] Reuben Chapman was governor of Alabama from 1847 to 1849.

2nd Does the power of exercising territorial government result from the terms of the 2nd clause of sec. 3rd of Article 4th of the Constitution; or is it incident to the right of acquisition? 3rd May we not rightfully assume from Gen' Rileys proclamation, that he is acting under instructions from the War Department? and if so, and the ends should be consummated which are in contemplation by that proclamation, would it not be an aggravation of the wrong proposed by the Wilmot proviso? 4th Under what limitations have the people of a territory a right to erect a state government? 5th Are the Mexican and other foreigners resident in California at the ratification of the treaty citizens of the United States within the meaning of the treaty? and if so, has the treaty making power the right to alter in any particular the general naturalization law of the U. S.?

I have thought of recommending that provision be made for convening the legislature immediately upon the passage of the proviso or any similar measure, or the admission of California as a state through the agency above alluded to. Would it be politic to make any other or different recommendation at present? A state or southern convention having neither of them been agitated in this state, I have some fears that the suggestion of either might have a bad effect. The people are however sound on the subject.

I would not trouble you sir knowing the multiplicity of your engagements but for the vital importance of this subject to our country. As my message must be in readiness some days before the legislature meets, I must ask your reply as early as possibly convenient.

With high respect Your friend &c

R CHAPMAN

From Wm. B. Johnston. C. C.

South Carolinian Office, Columbia, Novr 8, 1849.

DEAR SIR, I take the liberty of addressing you for several reasons. Your rumored retirement, you will have noticed probably, we have contradicted in the Carolinian, and we

trust we may have been correct in so doing, indeed we cannot think otherwise.

From various indications, I feel assured the proposition emanating from the Mississippi Convention to hold a Southern Convention will eventually be adopted, and though late may yet be effective in doing good. When conducting a neighboring journal I earnestly and repeatedly urged the necessity of such a measure through its columns; and had the pleasure of knowing that you were convinced that it was *the* action for the South to adopt. Would that the proposition had then received the attention it claimed and deserved. It may not be "too late" now, and there is no doubt but party affiliations have become much weaker since and that there is a better chance for a complete union of men of all parties at the present time.

Intimately associated with the movement, will be the connection of your name with the Presidency, as an independent or constitutional nominee, irrespective of the nominations of the usual *party* Conventions. Now ought not the Democratic presses at the South, take early and decided ground against these Conventions—not only the Democratic press of the South, but Whig also. But more particularly the democratic press, as the late "Coalitions" at the North are sad evidences of the fact that we have, or can have but few friends there. This can be done without the abandonment of any set of political principles, and the mere party associations are not worth a thought, at such a time as this. It could not involve any greater sacrifice—none half so great as the yielding of constitutional rights.

Occupying the position we do, conducting a leading journal, with an extensive and rapidly increasing circulation throughout the State and adjacent States, it is of great importance to us to have [the] benefit of such suggestions as you could give us, and thus be enabled to aid as far as possible in bringing about a union of the South.

I would consider it a great favor if you had leisure to write me briefly upon these subjects, and any suggestions which you might deem of service to me in my present position would be gratefully received and acted on—premising that any commu-

nication you may deem proper to make, being considered strictly confidential—

With great respect Yours truly

W^M B. JOHNSTON.

P. S. I see by the Charleston Courier this evening that they say they have understood you approved of the proposition to hold a Southern Convention. I will probably briefly state in the Carolinian—without saying so authoritatively—that any measure tending to promote union of action will be certain of receiving your sanction.

From J. H. Hammond.[1]

Silver Bluff 5 March 1850

MY DEAR SIR, I am greatly rejoiced to hear of your improved health, and by the telegraph that you were in the Senate day before yesterday. I trust that as warm weather advances you will recover entirely and feel well enough to retain your seat through this crisis. If I may judge of your particular views by the three or four sentences which the telegraph devotes to an abstract of your speech on Monday,[2] I should regard your retirement at this moment as a peculiar calamity to the South. Under any circumstances your loss would be irreparable, but your ideas as to the precise course necessary at this exigency, as I understand them, are so clearly in my judgment the only safe and sound ones, that to be deprived of your powerful aid in developing and enforcing them, would almost make me doubt that Providence was on our side. I have no sort of faith with any Constitutional Compacts with the North. She never has regarded them and never will. On mere Legislative Compromises I look with horror. They are the apples of Hippomenes cast behind him in the race. Our only safety is in *equality of* POWER. We must divide the territory so as forever to retain that equality in the Senate at least, and in doing so we should count Delaware with the North. She is no Southern or Slave State. I

[1] Original lent by Mr. E. S. Hammond, who writes that it was returned to his father after Calhoun's death on March 31, 1850, by the latter's private secretary.

[2] Calhoun's famous speech of March 4, 1850, on the slavery question, Works, IV, 542-573.

would infinitely prefer disunion to any thing the least short of this—and I would rather have it I believe *any how* for fear of future Clays, Bentons, Houstons and Bells. If the North will not consent to this I think we should not have another word to say, but kick them out of the Capitol and set it on fire. We must act *now*, and *decisively*. We will be in a clear minority when California comes in and in twenty or thirty years, there will be ten more free states West of the Mississippi and ten more North of the St Lawrence and the Lakes. England would gladly surrender Canada to us now, if she had a decent pretext that would serve her pride. Long before the North gets this vast accession of strength she will ride over us rough shod, proclaim freedom or something equivalent to it to our Slaves and reduce us to the condition of Hayti. She would not even do as England did to Jamaica. She would do what the Constituent Assembly did to Hayti. If we do not act now, we deliberately consign our children, not our posterity, but *our children* to the flames. What a holocaust for us to place upon the Altar of that Union, for which the South and West have had such a bigoted and superstitious veneration.

It seems to me that Congress will leave nothing for the Nashville Convention to do. If you make a truce, however fatal, we cannot violate it. If you make an impassable breach, the powers of the Convention under the Virginia instructions will be inadequate to any useful purpose. The only thing to be done will be to call a General Congress of the South. The Nashville Convention might recommend that, but I presume an equally potent impulse would come from Congress. Should things remain—contrary to every appearance—pretty much as they are, I think that will be the proper course for the Nashville Convention to take. I am decidedly opposed to any Address either defiant or remonstrant, or conciliatory to the North, and nothing need be said to the South after the Southern Address. A very Short Preamble and a couple of resolutions would answer every purpose and these I could draw in five minutes. In fact I have had them by me for some time. The substance of them is in this letter. I am not ambitious myself to "Bell the Cat" and will not push to make the move, but rather second it. But would make it. I would

send you a copy of this paper, but fear to involve you unnecessarily in its consequences. You must preserve yourself for the Convention to frame the New Constitution. You must be there with your full powers. In the mean time I am extremely anxious to see your Book on Government. I trust that you have taken the ground that the fundamental object of Government is to *secure* the fruits of labor and skill—that is to say *property*, and that its forms must be moulded upon the social organization. Life and liberty will then be secured, for these are naturally under the guardianship of Society and that civilization which is the fruit of its progress. "*Free Government*" and all that sort of thing has been I think a fatal delusion and humbug from the time of Moses. Freedom does not spring from Government but from the same soil which produces Government itself; and all we want from that is a guarantee for property fairly acquired. I fear it will be impossible for me to go to Washington. I must endeavour to put my affairs in a proper train, to be neglected hereafter if circumstances require it, as every man must do his duty when the tug comes. In the last eight crops I have sunk four and two of these in the last three, and just now a heavy pecuniary responsibility has devolved on me. . . . Altho' I have the strongest hopes that I have my lands now in a condition to repay me rapidly all I have sunk in their improvement, I must at this time act with exceeding caution and dare not leave them to any management but my own until I see my crop fairly on the way. Do write me as fully as you can. I think the Atlantic and Gulf States are by an immense majority ready for any thing, and less patient than their leaders. Six months has produced an immense change and it is going on rapidly. If the leaders will only *lead*, neither they nor we have any thing to fear.

Yours sincerely J. H. HAMMOND

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